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Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon
DUC D'ENGHIEN.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH:

EXHIBITING THE MOST

DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS,

LITERARY, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL,

In the Recent Annals of the

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE GREATER PART

FROM THE ORIGINAL INFORMATION

OF

A GENTLEMAN RESIDENT AT PARIS.

by Lewis Goldsmith.

FIFTH EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH.

LOUIS ANTOINE HENRY BOURBON, DUKE OF ENGHIEN.

"Long has the tyrant wav'd his iron rod,
Long on the bending neck of Europe trod,
Insulting Nature, and blaspheming God;
But ne'er have yet his rank offences given
More wanton injury to earth and heaven,
Than when he stretch'd his ruffian arm to tear
From *neutral* Baden Conde's princely heir;
Proud to insult a state his sword oppress'd,
And fix another wound on Bourbons breast."

PYE.

VOLTAIRE justly remarks, that no family either of sovereigns or subjects, have been more exposed to the vicissitudes of fortune, and to that misery which attends human life in all conditions, than the Royal Family of the house of Stuart; of whom, during twelve generations, three only died natural deaths: all the others were killed either in the field, during civil or foreign wars; in prisons, by poison administered by

treacherous foes, or on the scaffolds erected by rivals, rebels, or regicides. Had this French author lived to see our wretched days, and witnessed the shocking consequences of a political, moral and religious revolution, to which his writings in some degree contributed, he would have been forced to acknowledge, that another Royal Family, considering the long period of its prosperity, and the accumulated sufferings of some few years, might claim a melancholy priority. For fourteen centuries, the Bourbons have, almost without interruption, possessed the sovereignty of France. Factions and revolts, invasions and insurrections, have sometimes disturbed their reigns; but most of them died in their beds, and all in ruling on their hereditary throne, which, when occupied by the most patriotic monarch of the whole race, was overturned; a revolutionary tyranny was created on its ruins, and during eleven years, five Bourbons have perished by violent deaths, victims to the barbarity of French republicans. Neither the virtues of the good Louis XVI.; nor the elegance, the beauty, the sex, the heroic constancy in misfortunes, of Maria Antoinette; neither the pure, the immaculate life of the religiously tender Princess Elizabeth; the innocence and youth of Louis XVII. nor the

valour,

valour, honour, and loyalty of the Duke of Enghien, were sufficient protections (though defended besides by the laws of all civilized nations) to prevent crimes, at the bare mention of which all Europe would have shuddered twenty years ago.

The Condé branch of the Bourbon family descends from Louis, brother to Antoine, king of Navarre, and father to Henry IV. the great king of France and Navarre. During two centuries every Condé has been illustrious as warriors, eminent as statesmen, and conspicuous as patriots. If ever such noble qualities were hereditary, it was in this family. Before loyalty was proscribed in France, the name of a Condé was there always regarded as synonymous with that of an hero, who combated with equal valour, zeal, and generosity, the external enemies of his country, and the internal despotisms of the ministers of his royal relatives; for, into the councils of several Bourbons, despotical ministers had insinuated themselves; but no Bourbon was ever a tyrant. If, therefore, the princes of the house of Condé were not always favourites at court, they were at all times adored by the people, and esteemed by their sovereigns; being too liberal, and too just, not to regard as the first duty in those, who from their birth had the privilege of

frequent approaches to the throne, to remonstrate against acts, supposed unconstitutional, or complained of as oppressive.

Among the many generals who distinguished themselves during the reign of Louis XIV. the Grand Condé, whose victories extended the northern and western frontiers of France, by conquering part of Flanders, the whole of Alsace, and Franche Comté, stands the foremost. Turenne, Luxembourg, Vendôme, Vauban, Catinat, and other great commanders of the seventeenth century, were all his pupils, instructed, in combating by his side, how to defeat opposing armies, yet be sparing of the lives of their own soldiers; how to be terrible in battle, and generous to the vanquished; how always to blend humanity with valour. It is not necessary to remark, that the French republican generals are not of the school of the Grand Condé, or of that of his progeny.

The Duke of Enghien was the only son of Louis Henry Joseph, Duke of Bourbon, and grandson of Louis Joseph de Bourbon, the present Prince of Condé. His mother was the Princess Louisa Maria Theresa Matilda, sister of the late Duke of Orleans; and he was born at Chantilly, on the 2d of August, 1772, Destined one day

day to bear the name of Condé, his education was such as to make him worthy of that honour. His governor, the Commodore of Malta, de Virieux, and his instructor, Abbé l'Abdan, were two gentlemen, who, to the polished manners of courtiers, united the rare merit of erudition and probity, of virtue and knowledge of the world, of religion and philosophy. To unfold the naturally noble faculties of his genius and of his heart, they made him study only the history of his ancestors, and the examples given him by his father and by his grandfather, under whose eyes, at Chantilly, he passed almost without interruption the first fifteen years of his life.

The character of the man may often be predicted from the sallies of the youth. In the summer of 1781, when, one day, the Abbé l'Abdan read with him that part of the history of France, mentioning the particulars of the battle of Jarnac, where a Prince de Condé commanded the protestants; but, after being defeated by superior forces, was made a prisoner; and after having surrendered himself, was cowardly murdered by Montousquieux, a fanatic of the Catholic army; the young Duke suddenly started from his seat, and interrupted his instructor, saying: "*Abbé, if any one of the Montousquieux be yet alive, give me*

his address, and I will immediatly send him a challenge to fight me." The Abbé rather reproved him for giving way to revenge, one of the most ignoble of all passions; but added: "Suppose the Montousquieux yet remaining were the father of a numerous and young family, tormented by poverty, and deserted by friends; would your Highness pierce his heart for the crimes of his forefathers two centuries ago?"—"*Not I, indeed,*" answered the Duke; "*I should tell him, however, that I did not like his name; but I should ask my grandfather to make him rich, and to provide for his children.*" Virtuous and noble youth! little did he expect to fall himself a victim to a more wanton and dastardly barbarous assassin, than even he who killed his ancestor.

In the autumn of 1788, the Prince de Condé commanded 30,000 men, assembled for manœuvres in a pleasure camp near St. Omer. Here the Duke of Enghien commenced his military career, and evinced those early talents, which afterwards made him so much admired, not only by the archduke Charles, by the Prince de Cobourg, by Generals Wurmser, Clairfayt, and Kray, but by the republican Generals Kellermann, Pichegru, Hoche and Moreau. He here acquitted himself of his duty in a manner that surpassed the most sanguine

guine wishes and expectations of his father and grandfather, who, after their return to Versailles, were both complimented by Louis XVI. on the brilliant qualities of the Duke, attained by their lessons, or from their superintendancy, as the monarch said, *alike honourable to them and to their pupil.*

Hitherto, the Duke had felt little else of life but its comforts. Hitherto happy himself, he had only known how to make others happy. Hitherto he had seen nothing of his countrymen but what was dutiful; but, in 1789, he beheld the standard of revolt erected, and saw the destruction of Monarchy threatened. He therefore left France with his loyal parent and relatives. A country where a King was insulted and imprisoned, and where every person who did not act as a rebel was proscribed or butchered as a traitor, was unworthy to number among its inhabitants, a Condé and his descendants. The Prince de Condé, the Dukes of Bourbon and of Enghien, emigrated on the 16th of July, two days after ignorance or cowardice had given up the Bastile.

As their Serene Highnesses were among the first French emigrants who quitted their degraded country, it may not be improper here to remind some Continental Princes of their conduct towards

them; to reprobate those who indiscreetly or wickedly have persecuted them, and to do justice to Great Britain, as the only empire where hospitality has not been refused them; where their loyalty has been rewarded, and their distresses relieved; where age has been supported; the female sex protected, and the youth instructed; and where delicacy and generosity have gone hand in hand; where the industrious has been encouraged; where the brave has been employed, and the infirm ha been succoured.

Most emigrants were noblemen or gentlemen; all were men of property, and proscribed. The object of the Prince de Condé, in emigrating, was, to assemble round him such of his countrymen as were faithful to their God and to their King, and with their assistance to preserve both the altar and the throne. His Highness's popularity in France, and the respectable opinion deservedly entertained of his character abroad, would have made this plan successful, had Sovereigns known their danger, and subjects their duty. Millions of Frenchmen would in 1789 and 1790, have joined his Highness, had not the German Princes, misled by their philosophical or illuminati ministers, recompensed the fidelity of the emigrants by insult, chicanery, vexation,

and

and contempt; though, by doing so, they indirectly assisted the French rebels, approved of the French rebellion, and prevented others from sharing the dangers of their friend and partisans. No one, who has not travelled in Germany and Italy, can form an idea of the cruel and impolitic manner in which the emigrants have been treated; with what patience they have endured poverty, with what courage they have fought, and with what resignation they have encountered imprisonment and death. Even lately, Hereditary Princes, in obedience to the decree of an infamous usurper, or from an ungenerous idea that the unfortunate is always in the wrong, have, by their decrees, banished all emigrants from their states, after cruelly and cowardly delivering over others to the Corsican executioner. What horrid anti-social deeds have these persecuted persons perpetrated!—To the eternal shame of some Continental Sovereigns, loyalty is the only crime of those faithful subjects, more elevated more disinterested, than the counsellors of indemnified Kings and Electors; neither seduced from their faith in their religion by the Pope's revolutionary concordat, nor from their duty to their King by offers of wealth and rank from the revolutionary tyrant of their country.

It required all that praiseworthy constancy of the Prince de Condé, which has commanded respect even from his Highness's opposers, to be enabled to collect around him those few corps of loyal emigrants which composed his army in 1792, at and near Worms and Coblentz. During the summer of 1791, however, several changes had taken place in the decisions of the Cabinet of Vienna and Berlin, favourable to the cause of the Bourbons. The Emperor and the King of Prussia had met at the Castle of Pilnitz, in Upper Saxony, to discuss in person some arrangements of a nature too delicate for the common diplomatic forms of negotiation. At this place the royal brothers of Louis XVI. obtained permission to attend; and the Imperial and Prussian Sovereigns took into consideration their representations on the state of France, and its probable effects on the other nations of Europe. The Prussian Ministers had previously received from M. de Bouillé a plan for the disposition and operations of foreign armies on different parts of the French frontiers: it was approved by a Council, at which the Marshals de Broglio and de Castries assisted; and Frederick-William apeared so anxious to put it in execution, that M. de Bouillé, not doubting a speedy declaration of war, wrote his

senti-

sentiments to the King of Sweden, in whose service he was then engaged, and joined the other parties at Pilnitz.

The meeting took place on the 25th of August, when the Emperor and the King of Prussia speedily arranged the compact which had occasioned the interview; but they differed entirely on the measures to be pursued respecting France. Frederick-William was eager for hostilities; but Leopold, considering the danger of his sister, the Queen of France, and her children, or influenced, perhaps, by other political considerations, proposed, first, to try pacific measures. Both, however, concurred in viewing with jealousy the preparations of the King of Sweden, the heroic Gustavus III. the Royal Chevalier of Monarchs and Monarchy, who was employed in raising a force to succour the French King. With such diversities of views, no extensive operation could be agreed upon; but Baron de Spielmann, the Emperor's Minister, M. de Bischofswerder for the King of Prussia, and M. de Calonne on behalf of the French Princes, drew up a declaration, which was settled after a long debate, in which it was declared: "That the situation of the King of France was an object of common interest to all

the Sovereigns of Europe. They hoped that that interest would be recognized by other Powers, who would not refuse to employ, in conjunction with them, the most efficacious means, according to their abilities, of enabling Louis XVI. to establish at perfect liberty the foundations of a Monarchical Government, equally agreeable to the rights of Sovereigns, and the welfare of the French people; *then, and in that case,* their Majesties were determined to act promptly with the forces necessary to the end proposed, and in the mean time order their troops to be in readiness." The French Princes gained nothing more from the conference than this paper, and a secret convention that the Emperor and the King of Prussia should each furnish twelve thousand men on the frontiers of the Rhine, to support the army of emigrants, under the command of the Prince de Condé, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, to demonstrate unequivocally their *protection* of the French Princes, and to urge the concurrence of other States.

It might have been thought that this assurance of two great Powers would not only have given consistency to the loyal efforts of the French Princes, but procured them an asylum with their armed countrymen every where in Germany. The

The contrary, unfortunately, was the case. The weak and wicked La Fayette had, with his accomplices, some few weeks after the meeting at Pilnitz, forced Louis XVI. to accept an absurd and anarchical code, as the constitution of the French Monarchy, and to write to all Sovereigns that he was determined to resist any attempt to change what he had sworn to preserve. The Elector of Treves honoured the intimation of the King of France with immediate compliance, and put an end to all assembling and hostile preparation on the part of the emigrants, who were obliged to quit Worms, which rendered their situation less respectable, abridged their comforts, and diminished their numbers, as well as their resources. The only solid hope of the Princes was founded on the activity, talents, enterprize, and fidelity of the King of Sweden, who was animated with the most honourable and sincere desire to ameliorate the condition of Louis XVI.; but, not possessing in himself sufficient means, was obliged to await the motions of Austria and Prussia, and submit to delusive promises from Russia and Spain. This great King did not, however, live to see some Sovereigns repent of their envy, and others of their irresolution or duplicity: he was murdered on the 16th of March, 1792; and four

four days afterwards the Legislative Assembly declared war against the House of Austria. The majority of the members of this Assembly were among the very lowest classes of society, including even that of criminals. The sweepings of monasteries, the scum of colleges, the refuse of printing-offices, thieves or murderers from the gallies, the meanest class of literati, with bankrupt tradesmen, poor farmers, and even discarded menials, formed the mass of those Legislators, who wese reinforced by Condorcet, Brissot, and other leaders of the republican party from Roland's, and encouraged by the most violent of the Jacobin and Cordelier orators out of doors.—These were the men who proclaimed all Kings tyrants, and the Bourbon Princes and their followers rebels and brigands; who dethroned their own King, and threatened the destruction of all thrones.

During these transactions the emigrants were again embodied near Coblentz; the King of Prussia prepared to co-operate with them and the Emperor, in resisting the aggression of France; and an invasion was agreed on, in which the joint forces were to be commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, who was considered as the first General in Europe. Mallet du Pan had proposed the

plan

plan of a manifesto, which was approved by the Austrian and Prussian Ministers, declaring, "That *no view of ambition, personal interest, or dismemberment, entered into the projects of their Sovereigns.* They wished to restore order in France for the sake of peace, which could not exist till the reign of anarchy was terminated; they did not, however, pretend to impose any form of government, but left that arrangement to the King and Nation." But aftet Mallet du Pan had retired to his native country—without the knowledge of the French Princes, another impolitic manifesto was drawn up by M. Dulimon, as dictated by the *same* Ministers of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, and was signed by the Duke of Brunswick, *who had not been consulted in the composition.* This manifesto wrought irreparable injury to the cause of the allied sovereigns, of the emigrants, and of the unfortunate King whom they intended to befriend. All parties were either provoked at, or ridiculed the boasting of the Duke of Brunswick. The rebels did not fail to attribute to the suggestions of their King, all the menaces respecting the safety of himself and his family; and thence concluded that his Majesty was in correspondence with the enemies of the nation.

In

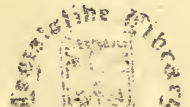
In the declaration of the French Princes, published on the 8th of August, their Highnesses justly remarked, "That the Revolution was produced by a conspiracy of atrocious minds, which had converted a mild people attached to their King, into hordes of robbers, cannibals, and regicides. They, however, *solemnly disclaimed every idea of revenge, and wished only to become the deliverers of their country.*" Toward the conclusion, their Highnesses "gave the most pressing invitation to the French troops to return to their ancient fidelity to their lawful sovereign, and join the forces which they commanded for him, without looking upon themselves as bound by any illusory oaths, which they could never take willingly to the prejudice of their supreme chief." They also required, "in the King's name as well as in their own, all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortresses, throughout the kingdom, to open their gates, and deliver up the keys on the first summons, under penalty of being tried for disobedience to their King, and treated as rebels."

In the mean time the hero of the league, Frederick-William II. left his capital, and arrived at Coblentz, where he was received as a future conqueror by his own troops, while the emigrants hailed in him their deliverer. Being loyal themselves,

selves, they confided implicitly in the promises of a Prince who had relinquished the pleasures of the table, and the seductions of the fair sex, on purpose to espouse their cause. Amidst the intoxication of joy and exultation, they already flattered themselves with the idea of restoring their virtuous King to his authority, and liberating their countrymen from the vilest of all bondage that of a barbarous mob.

The combined army was composed of fifty thousand Prussians, headed by their Sovereign; thirty thousand Austrians, under the command of the Prince de Hohenlohe and the Count de Clairfayt; and six thousand Hessians. Besides these troops, the French nobles, who had now assumed the name of the royal army, including a few regiments levied by the minor German Princes, already amounted to twenty-two thousand. These were divided into three different bodies: one of twelve thousand men, led by Monsieur, and by the Count D'Artois, brothers of Louis XVI. was destined to serve with the grand army; while the other two, consisting of five thousand each, commanded by the Prince de Condé, the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, were cantoned on the borders of the Rhine.

When all delays, caused by petty intrigues or by



by German phlegm, were overcome, and the combined troops were at length put in motion, the emigrants offered, with their accustomed gallantry, to act as an advanced guard, and were not only desirous of encountering all the dangers of this expedition, but also admirably calculated, by their information and connections, to ensure its success. Among them were many princes and peers of France, who were still supposed to possess immense influence: in their ranks were seen several generals, such as the Marshals de Broglio and Castries; while the names of the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, and the military talents of the successor of the great Condé, the Nestor of loyal warriors, reflected lustre on their cause. This body, in which almost every soldier had been an officer and a noble, exhibited, by its ardour and activity, a singular contrast to the gravity and slowness of the German troops; but these circumstances, which in the moment of defeat, were construed by faithless Prussia into a crime, appeared at this period to afford a happy presage of approaching success; which the capture of Longwy and Verdun, and the rapid, and almost uninterrupted march to the vicinity of Chalons, seemed to confirm.

But

But here the selfish policy of the house of Brandenburgh began to shew itself. Either wearied by the fatigues of the campaign, disgusted with the uncommonly bad weather, or disheartened by a resistance that he did not expect, Frederick-William, instead of attacking General Dumourier, negotiated with him; and, notwithstanding the representations of the French Princes, of the Marshals de Broglio, de Castries, and of General Clairfayt, as to the great importance of achieving something for the relief of Louis XVI., his queen and family, and the great probability of being victorious in a battle; on the 29th of September, just as the troops were expecting to engage, and the royal army under the French Princes exulted in the hope of shedding their blood for the life and safety of their Sovereign, orders were issued for a retreat. But this was not enough; the French Princes and the other emigrants were not only prevented from dying like men of honour, but were sacrificed to be executed like criminals; for, some few days before, the Prussian Colonel Manstein had signed a treaty at the head-quarters of Dumourier relative to the exchange of prisoners; but it extended only to the Prussian, Austrian, and Hessian troops; the unfortunate emigrants were excluded

cluded from any participitaton in this cartel, and that too, by the *express consent* of the very Monarch who pretended to have invaded France for the sole purpose of restoring the King to his throne, and the nobles to their estates. Such a flagrant dereliction in an ally, so gross a violation of faith with confederates, in some measure sanctions the suspicions entertained by the French nation, as well as by many of the best statesmen in Europe, relative to the purity of the motives by which Austria and Prussia were actuated.

During this fatal campaign, the Duke of Enghien continually fought under his father the Duke of Bourbon, and with him and his other countrymen, after having for months nobly supported incessant fatigue, repeated dangers, and continual disgust, without murmur, in the hope of at length fighting a decisive battle, was, by the humiliating measure of a retreat, devoted to misery, opprobrium, or death. The Princes, however, did every thing in their power to change the determination of the Prussian Monarch, and to awaken in his bosom the honourable sentiments that animated their own. A number of emigrant chiefs being suddenly convoked at their head-quarters in the castle of Vouziers, his Royal Highness the Count D'Artois was deputed by them

to

to wait on the King of Prussia, in order to lay before him their critical situation. The Princes, whose representations were supported by those of General Clairfayt, supplicated the King of Prussia in the name of royalty to abjure so fatal a resolution. On being informed, in reply, *that it was no longer prudent to persevere*, his Royal Highness requested that the Austrians and French emigrants alone might be permitted to march against, and attack the enemy; but this favour was also denied. What an indifferent opinion of modern kings must a Prince form, aged twenty, with a mind as noble and disinterested as his character was elevated, when his royal relative returned with his refusal! A nobleman who had then the honour of being by his side, assured the Author, "that his Highness's first emotion was, to lay his hand on his sword, and to propose forcing the Prussians to do their duty as allies, or to chastise them as traitors; to vanquish them, or to perish in the attempt." This ardour, though praiseworthy, was repressed by the Duke of Bourbon, who rightly observed, "that it was more generous to forgive, than to return evil for evil; that treachery, as well as cruelty, carried its own punishment with it; that the transactions of kings as well as of individuals are recorded by con-

contemporaries, and judged of by posterity; that he whose conduct bid defiance to both was unworthy of their vengeance, and deserved only their compassion; and finally, *that the errors of kings must always, by true royalists, be ascribed to the advice of ignorant or corrupt counsellors,*"

The retreat began the next day, and the republican general, Kellermann, appeared rather to escort than to pursue the Prussians out of the French territory; while the Austrians were repeatedly attacked by General Dillon; and both the victors and the defeated seem to have exhausted their wrath on the unhappy French nobles: instead of being detached in front, they were frequently employed in the rear guard; the aged, the wounded, and the infirm, unable to keep up with the main body of the combined army, fell into the hands of their rebellious countrymen, and were guillotined or shot; others in despair destroyed themselves; while the Prussian hussars pillaged their baggage with the most unparalleled barbarity and insolence. It is impossible to consider the fate of these gallant emigrants without pity; nor can the time and manner in which they were abandoned be contemplated without the most lively indignation!

But even when out of the reach of their faithless

less or inimical marauders and assassins, the distress of the loyal emigrants was not lessened. Confiding in the hope which the Prussian Monarch had held out to them, of returning to their country and property, most of them had expended their last shilling in equipping themselves for the campaign; and many, whose rank, places or possessions in France, made them regarded as rich, had borrowed, money in Holland and Germany, to assist their less fortunate, though equally zealous countrymen. In this latter case was the Duke of Enghien and the other French Princes, who nobly deprived themselves, not only of all comforts, but of what their rank had made necessaries. At Liege the royal emigrant army was disbanded as a corps; and noblemen, whose whole life had been spent in affluence or luxury, whose education was totally military, were turned adrift upon the world almost naked, without resources, without friends, and without a country; rebuked and deserted by the Prussian royalists, and despised, detested and persecuted by all the numerous hordes of Jacobins, who, at that period, over-ran not only France, but Europe.

The Prince de Condé with a corps of emigrants, and the Prince of Hohenlohe with some

Austrian

Austrian regiments, had, while the grand confederate army was advancing towards Paris, invested Thionville, an important fortress on the German frontiers, sixty miles from Treves and Metz. But the King of Prussia had *neglected* to provide General D'Autichamp, who superintended the attack, with any battering cannon, otherwise little doubt is entertained that the garrison would have followed the example of Longwy and Verdun. Such was the end of a campaign which, from the weakness of a King, or from the selfish policy or depravity of his ministers, instead of saving the life of a lawful Sovereign, was one of the principal causes of his murder; and, instead of restoring Monarchy in France, has, ever since made all other Monarchs unsafe upon their thrones.

The Author has, from undoubted authority, an anecdote worthy to be related, as displaying the generous heart of the Duke of Enghien. It occurred at Liege, in the latter part of October 1792; but the benefactor was unknown until 1796. Having saved four of his horses from the republican or Prussian robbers in Champagne, his Highness ordered a trusty servant to dispose of them. They had been bought for, and were worth three hundred Louis d'ors; but ninety only were

were obtained for them. Among the many other suffering emigrants then at Liege, was the family of the Marquis de M———t, who near Stenay had seen two of his sons and his brother-in-law cut to pieces before his face, and who, after being wounded, was made a prisoner, and as such guillotined by the republicans. His widow, with three young daughters and two infant sons, unacquainted with the cruel fate of persons so near and dear to her, had prepared with the last Louis d'or she possessed, a small feast for their return, expecting them with an anxiety more easily imagined than expressed. The Duke of Enghien sent his servant to her, dressed like a French dragoon, who presented her as from her husband, with ninety Louis d'ors, intimating that this money was destined to carry her to Holland, to join the Marquis, who, after the disasters of the campaign, had retired to that country, whither the servant was to accompany her; who said, that the letter which the Marquis gave him for his Lady was torn to pieces in his retreat, for fear of being evidence against him if taken by the republicans. Arrived in Holland, he said that he heard from friends, that her husband had found means, with his sons and relative, to return to

France, and was enabled to remit her, through secret channels, a yearly sum of one hundred Louis d'ors, though not daring to write to her, for fear of exposing himself. For four years the Duke regularly sent this sum; and it was not until the death of the servant at Hamburgh, in 1796, that the Marchioness knew she was a widow, and had to mourn two sons and a brother; but at the same time, that she owed her own and her children's existence to the most liberal and delicate of benefactors, who, in an age of dissipation, had made humanity the first of his pleasures.

Firmness under misfortune is more laudable and more to be extolled than modesty in prosperity; because the mind of the unfortunate is more exposed to irritation, than that of the fortunate is tempted by insolence, vanity, or ambition. The Prince de Condé not only forgot his own sufferings, but, after having passed the Rhine in November 1792, tried to alleviate those of his wretched countrymen, by establishing a small army at his own expence, and keeping together as much as possible those corps which had served under him; and uniting with them those emigrants who wanted bread and a home, and who, with him, had a country to regret, injuries to forgive

crimes to punish, and the murder of their King to revenge. The Dukes of Bourbon and of Enghien, who now had joined his Highness, never ceased to assist him in this desirable and meritorious undertaking. What obstacles these Princes had to counteract, and what private sacrifices they were forced to make, by the impolitic opposition which they encountered from some Powers, by the absurd jealousy of others, and by the base hatred of several, may be easily conceived, when, in the midst of one of the most terrible of wars, in which men were so much wanted to combat an enemy directing armies unusually numerous, their Highnesses exhausted all their resources by paying, during six months, their loyal countrymen in arms, from their private purses, before Austria tardily took them into her pay.

During the campaign of 1793, the Duke of Enghien acquired, under the eyes of his grandfather, great perfection in the art of war, in which his father, the preceding campaign, had given him so many instructive lessons. In the engagement by Gorkrim, on the 20th of August, his Highness, at the head of the first battalion of *Chasseurs-Nobles*, merited and obtained the thanks of the old General Wurmser; and the next day, when

brilliant success crowned the valour of the army of Condé, and the excellent dispositions of its august chief, the same General did not know which to praise the most, his cool courage or his vigorous charge. At the battle which forced the famous lines of Weissembourg, on the 13th of October, in his charge on the enemy, his Highness had two horses killed under him. But it was particularly in the daily combats near Bertsheim, from the 2d to the 9th of December, that he distinguished himself by his intrepidity, by the vivacity of his manœuvres, by the precision of his orders, and, above all, by the calm of his great mind in the midst of dangers, which showed him at twenty-one the worthy emulator of the heroes of his race, It was on the first of these honourable, but perilous and murdering days, that the house of Condé offered the rare example of three generations, combating at the same time and place, and repulsing an enemy three times more numerous; where the Prince de Condé, at the head of his noble infantry, dared death fifteen paces from cannon loaded with grape-shot; and, notwithstanding the fire of the musquetry, and the obstinate resistance of the republicans carried the strongly fortified village of Bertsheim with the bayonet, without firing a shot;

where

where the Duke of Bourbon, at the head of the cavalry, the Duke of Enghien by his side, charged and fought with the same valour and with the same success; but, being severely wounded by the cut of a sword, from the loss of blood was obliged to resign the command to his son. It is impossible to describe the mutual affection of the father and son on this trying occasion, and the anxiety of the Duke of Enghien concerning his father's wound. But, lively as his alarm was, his great heart proved itself sufficient to satisfy, at the same time, the sentiments of nature and the duties which his honour and rank imposed upon him. With that sure and quick *coup d'œil* which always characterised the Condés upon the field of battle, he observed the enemy's cavalry forming again two hundred paces from where it had been routed: no time was to be lost: with a division of the *Chevaliers de la Couronne*, and of the regiment of *Dauphin*, his Highness immediately charged, defeated, and dispersed their cavalry, captured all their cannon, of which he seized one with his own hand, and carried it away in triumph. The whole army, which had witnessed this courageous manœuvre, and admired its execution, was trembling at the dangers surrounding the young hero, and thanking Provi-

dence that he had escaped them by only having his clothes pierced with bullets, and torn by bayonets. This, however, was not the only danger that his Highness encountered that day, when he fought by the side of his father: in crossing a hollow way, during the most furious part of the engagement, a republican dragoon lifted his sword over the Duke's head, and his life was saved by one of his loyal companions cutting off the arm of this wretch, whose sword fell upon the Duke's saddle.

When the action was over, he rushed into his father's arms, and, after assuring himself of his situation, accompanied his grandfather in a visit to the wounded men of his own army, as well as to those of the enemy. The regicide Convention had decreed no quarter to be given to any emigrants; and so certain were the wounded republican soldiers that they were destined to death by reprisal, that when these two Princes humanely inquired after their situation, and surgeons were ordered to take the same care of them as of their own soldiers, they exclaimed, "Why cure our wounds and hang us afterwards!" They were, however, agreeably surprized, when the Duke of Enghien assured them, "That they were more safe in the power of their royal opposers,

posers, than if they were in that of their republican tyrants; that French royalists combated like warriors, but never dishonoured themselves by murdering like assassins!

On the evening of that terrible day, the Duke of Enghien heard of an act of resignation and true courage, in walking over the field of battle, which he often mentioned, but never without tears in his eyes. Two French noblemen, Chevalier de St. Luc and Baron de Chavernais, were left as killed among the dead, but life was not yet entirely gone: the latter, as he awoke from a fainting, complained loudly of his pains, while the former, who hitherto had remained silent, offered him the following consolation:—"*My friend, whoever you are,*" said the Chevalier, "*remember that our God died on the cross, our King on the scaffold; and if you have strength to look at him who speaks to you, you will see that he hath both his legs shot away.*" In so saying, he breathed his last. Civic crowns may be presented on the tombs of rebels and regicides who, when expiring, howl out the Marseillois hymn; but a paradise must await him who, suspended between existence and death, forgets his own misery to console his fellow-sufferer's, and who dies as he has lived, mindful of his religion, and dutiful to his King.

Until the end of this campaign, which finished on the 25th of December, the Duke of Enghien continued to command the cavalry. During the last three weeks, no less than sixteen engagements had taken place, each more bloody than many great battles fought in former times. Having more energy of mind than strength of body, the fatigues which his Highness had endured brought on a dangerous illness during the winter, and his valuable life was for a long time in danger. Providence preserved him still, however, to be the admiration of the loyal, an example for the brave, and a terror to traitors.

During the campaign of 1794 and 1795, the army of Condé was charged to observe the enemy, and to guard the borders of the Rhine. In the former of these years, the Duke of Enghien received the cross of St. Louis, a military order, from which, according to statutes, even the Princes of the blood were excluded, if they did not deserve it by military achievements. In 1795, the Duke of Bourbon was called to take the command, which was thought at that time to be of the greatest importance: his Highness left his father's army, and embraced his son for the last time: their adieu was tender and affectionate; but little did they suppose that they should never meet more

more on this side the grave. Louis XVIII had just then succeeded to the rank of his ancestors; the regicide murderers of his brother and nephew were then as much detested in France as abhorred elsewhere; and the greatest and soundest part of his subjects desired ardently the return of a King, whose eminent virtues deserved a throne, had it not already been his own by birth—but this is not an age in which virtue is rewarded and crimes are punished. In revolutionary France, more than in all other countries, the very reverse has continually been the case; and there, for twelve years, the usurper in power has never ceased to be a criminal, whose atrocities would, in other countries, have sent even a Prince to the scaffold; while millions of French republicans, though knowing his guilt, and cursing his oppression, have cowardly submitted to his tyranny.

After the impolitic armistice which Austria had granted to France in the autumn of 1795 had expired, the republicans, who, by it, had obtained time to repair their losses in the last campaign, and to organize their newly created Directorial government, prepared again to invade Germany. In the spring of 1796 the Prince de Condé gave his grandson the command over the advanced guard of his army. General Moreau,

who, on the 24th and 25th of June, had passed the Rhine with 85,000 men, attacked the army of Condé in cantonments along this river, where it had been joined by 10,000 men, troops of the German circles: these troops immediately gave way, and left the Duke of Enghien at Offenburgh, with 1500 emigrants, surrounded by 15,000 republicans. During ten hours, every body believed his Highness and those under him to be either killed or prisoners; but, sword in hand, he pierced the ranks, and led his men through the lines of the enemy, penetrated into the neighbouring valley, and manœuvred with such prudent boldness, that he joined, with very little loss, the main body with his advanced guard.

For the three following weeks, while the retreat of the allied army towards Bavaria was continued, not a day passed without some skirmishes, or some serious battles; and though the Duke had several horses killed under him, and his clothes often pierced with balls, he escaped unhurt. In the combat on the 13th of August, the army of Condé, consisting of no more than 2100 men, was attacked by 13,500 republicans: the advanced guard, consisting of 550 men, commanded by the Duke of Enghien, was almost surrounded by 3600 enemies, whom he gloriously routed, after having,

having, according to the reports of prisoners, killed near 800 of them. On the 8th of December, he distinguished himself again in the attack on the bridge at Munich, of which the republicans occupied one half. By his valour on that day, he prevented Moreau from passing the bridge, and contributed not a little to force that General to begin his famous retreat, during which the army of Condé, united with the Austrians under General La Tour, pursued him. At the battle of Biberach, on the 2d of October, the Austrians were obliged to retire in confusion, and would have been entirely destroyed, had it not been for the resistance made by the advanced guard of the army of Condé, with whom the Duke of Enghien not only covered their retreat, but saved their baggage. At the battle of Steinsted, gained by the Archduke Charles, on the 24th of October, the Duke of Enghien carried the village which gave the name to this victory, with his bayonets, without firing a shot, and with 700 men made 1700 prisoners. He received next day the public thanks of the Archduke, who, from that time, took all occasions to convince his Highness how highly his talents were esteemed and his bravery admired.

When Moreau had achieved his retreat, the

Tête du Pont, near Huninguen, was attacked by the Austrians and the army of Condé, and, after an obstinate resistance, forced to capitulate. The Duke of Enghien went afterwards into the works, attended only by an aid-de-camp, to inspect them, and to instruct himself at the same time. More than 300 republican soldiers immediately surrounded him, requesting permission to behold, at their ease, *the little hero*, as they expressed themselves; and when he retired, they accompanied him with "*Huzza! Condé and Enghien for ever!*" With that generous presence of mind which never forsook him, he silenced them, pointed towards the ramparts of the town, by saying; "*My friends, I should be wretched if your kindness to me exposed you to punishment from your superiors.*" His Highness's supposition was too just: fifty of these unfortunate men were shot as royalists two days afterwards*.

After the treaty of Leoben, in 1797, the Russian Emperor having taken the army of Condé, then greatly diminished, into his service, it was ordered to march towards Poland. This army was now formed into four regiments, one of

* La Champagne de l'Armée de Condé, 1796. Basle, 1797, page 24 and 25.

which

which was given to the Duke of Enghien. But, before he left Germany, his Highness made a romantic tour on foot into Switzerland, visited all its mountains, and scaled precipices where even his guides dared not attempt to follow him. His agility was as great as his intrepidity; and though *incognito*, the Swiss, as well as his countrymen and the Germans, hailed in him a hero. In October of the same year, he was charged to conduct the remnant of his grandfather's army into Russian Poland; which, through a long journey and difficult roads, he did so much to the satisfaction of the Emperor Paul, that this Sovereign, in a letter written with his own hand, thanked him for his performance, and presented him with a regiment of dragoons.

When the war was renewed in 1799, the army of Condé was ordered to the frontiers of Switzerland. England had hitherto been almost the only Power that interested itself for this body of brave and loyal men, whom she now took into her pay. After the loss of the battle near Zurich, in September, this army was shut up in Constance; and it was only by prodigies of valour, and after fighting for a whole day in the streets of that town, that it escaped. Both the Prince de Condé and the Duke of Enghien narrowly

rowly avoided death on this occasoin. The republicans occupied the bridge over the Rhine, which when the Princes attempted to force, a volley of shot was fired at them; and a grenadier, with his bayonet against the breast of the Duke, said, "*Surrender yourself, Prince; I know you:* but he had scarcely time to utter the last word before his Highness cut him down. This act astonished the republicans, and opened the passage for himself and his friends. Had he hesitated, valour had been no longer useful, because in a minute several thousand enemies rushed upon the bridge.

The singular campaign in 1800, during which France obtained more success by her negotiations than by her arms, confirmed the reputation that he had gained in 1796. The republicans who fought against him did not conceal the esteem they had for his capacity, and the knowledge they had of his generosity, Many of them had experienced his clemency when the chance of war had made them his prisoners. Among other traits, the following deserves to be recorded: after a severe action in Bavaria, on the 1st of December 1800, returning to his apartment in the town of Rosenheim, he found there a wounded French prisoner, whom he ordered his own surgeon to take care of;

of; and after his wounds were dressed, gave him up his only bed to rest on. This man, moved by gratitude, desired one favour more, that of seeing the Duke of Enghien, of whom he had heard so many noble traits. His surprize was, therefore, not great when he found in this Prince his benefactor.

Another day the Duke visited the hospital at Ulm, which contained several hundred wounded French prisoners whom the Austrians, rather from want themselves, than from inclination, had neglected. His Highness had but a small sum of money at his disposal; but a ring, with which the Russian Emperor had presented him, was not a sacrifice for him, when he could relieve even the wretchedness of foes. He sold it, therefore, to a Jew, much under its real value, but for what was sufficient to give each wounded republican a crown. They were ignorant to whom they owed their succour; but some months afterward the Archduke Charles was informed of it; and the last time he saw his Highness, he jocosely said: "Prince! the French republicans have charged me to pay their debt: keep this ring in remembrance of your generosity, and of your friend." This ring was the very same sold at Ulm;

Ulm; but set round with six new and large diamonds in the form of a C.

The preliminaries of peace signed on the 25th of December 1800, finished the short, but glorious military career of the Duke of Enghien, whom Nature had made a hero before age had made him a man. After the degrading peace of Luneville, in February 1801, the army of Condé was disbanded. Though at different periods, during a ten years cruel war, it had been more or less numerous, its origin was always the same, and it consisted of the following corps: *Infantry Noble*, 2000 men; *Cavalry Noble*, 800 men; besides the *Legion* of *Mirabeau*, the *Chasseurs* of *Noinville* and *D'Astorg*; the regiment of *Dauphin Cavalry*, the regiment of *Hohenlohe* infantry, and the two regiments of Hussars, of *Bachy* and *Damas*. At the time this army was disbanded, four regiments of infantry of the line were attached to it; recruited mostly from young conscripts or other deserters, who refused to combat under the colours of rebellion. Every private in the *Cavalry* and *Infantry Noble*, was noble by birth, and few of them had been less than captains in the service of their King before the Revolution. In their ranks were counted several former generals and colonels,

colonels, who did the duty, and received the pay of common soldiers, as their only means of subsistence. If this do not prove loyalty and disinterestedness, it is difficult to say what can deserve those appellations.

The Duke of Enghien was the idol of this army; and in return, its honour and the comfort of its members were his daily occupation. When these brave men, who had so generously sacrificed their rank, riches, and country for the cause of kings, though it was neglected, if not deserted, by kings themselves, were (many in an advanced period of life) turned adrift upon a selfish world, where prosperity is regarded as the only pledge of merit, his liberal and humane heart had more painful combats to sustain than those which he had just finished with so much glory. Imitating the examples of his august grandfather, and of the other Princes, he hastened to satisfy their present wants; and not one individual who had been under his Highness's command left him with less than fifty crowns in his pocket. This benevolence exhausted the trifling resources of the Duke, and was one of the causes of his residence in Germany; where, by laudable economy, he intended to repair his finances, that they might for the future enable him to continue many small

pensions

pensions which he allowed from his own purse, to those of his countrymen whom wounds had maimed, age made infirm, or whose children were numerous; to widows whose husbands had died in fighting for their King, or to orphans whose parents had been butchered by the republicans. Thus has the cruel usurper, by the wanton murder of this good Prince, taken away consolation and support from misery of every age, and of either sex. The balls that pierced the virtuous breast of a Duke of Enghien, must therefore break the hearts of thousands, whose sufferings and destruction will be added to those of millions of others whom Napoleon Buonaparte's tyranny has made wretched, who have already either been forced to swallow his poisonous draughts, or whom his bayonets have stabbed, or his cannons annihilated.

At Ettenheim, where his Highness had resided for some time, few persons constituted his society; but they were all selected, of well-informed minds, and irreproachable conduct, religious and loyal. Among them may be counted, foremost, his amiable and elegant relative, the young Princess Clementina, of Rohan, whose innocent sallies often diverted him in his solitude, and whose courageous friendship accompanied him

even

even to Strasburgh, where she demanded in vain to share his dungeon or his scaffold. Study, the culture of a small garden, and hunting, were his principal occupations in this retreat; when, on the 15th of March 1804, the armed banditti of the Corsican violated the independence of the German empire, to enable the foreign tyrant to assassinate a French Prince in France. He arrived the same day at Strasburgh, where he remained shut up in the citadel until the 17th; when orders were received by the telegraph from Paris, that he should be immediately carried to that city, a distance of near 400 miles. He travelled day and night, and was escorted from relay to relay, by the gens d'armes, a corps of French thief-takers, spies, and informers. He was chained hand and foot the whole way. At six o'clock in the morning of the 20th he arrived at Paris, where he was first carried to the Temple, as if it were only to shew him a prison in which so many of his royal relatives had suffered, and which they had left only to perish; and afterwards to the castle of Vincennes, where, by the orders of Buonaparte, a mock tribunal, under the appellation of a Special Military Commission, had been convened. At nine o'clock in the forenoon, though almost fainting, from want

of

of nourishment, and almost asleep from want of rest, he was carried before the assassins, members of this military commission, who, at eleven o'clock, barbarously passed the following sentence:

SPECIAL MILITARY COMMISSION,

Formed in the First Military Division by virtue of a Decree of Government dated the 19th March, 12th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

JUDGMENT.

In the name of the French People.—This day, 20th March, 12th year of the Republic:

The special Military Commission, formed in the first military division, by virtue of a decree of Government of the date of the 19th March, 12th year, composed according to the law of the 5th September, year 5, of seven members, that is to say:

Citizens Hulin, General of Brigade, Commander of the fort grenadier guards, President; Guiton, Colonel, Commander of the 1st regiment of Cuirassiers; Bazancourt, Colonel, Commander of the 4th regiment of light infantry.

Ravier, Colonel, Commander of the 18th regiment of the infantry of the line.

Barrois,

Barrois, Colonel, Commander of the 96th regiment of ditto.

Rabbe, Colonel, Commander of the 2d regiment of the municipal guard of Paris.

D'Autencourt, Captain Major of the gens-d'armerie d'elite, performing the functions of Captain Reporter.

Molin, Captain in the 18th regiment of infantry of the line, Register; all appointed by the General in Chief, Murat, Governor of Paris, and commanding the first military division: which president, members, reporter, and register, are neither related nor allied to each other, or the accused, within the degree prohibited by the law.

The Commission convened by order of the General in Chief, Governor of Paris, met in the castle of Vincennes, in the apartment of the Commander of the place, for the purpose of trying Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke D'Enghien, born at Chantilly upon the 2d of August, 1772, about five feet six inches high, fair hair and eye-brows, oval face, long, well made, grey eyes inclining to brown, small mouth, aquiline nose, the chin a little pointed, and well turned.

Accused, 1st, of having carried arms against the French Republic; 2d, of having offered his services to the English Government, the enemy of

of the French people; 3d, of having received and accredited agents of the said Government—of having procured for them the means of maintaining an understanding in France, and having conspired with them against the internal and external safety of the State; 4th, of having placed himself at the head of an assemblage of French emigrants, and others in the pay of England, formed in the countries of Fribourg and Baden; 5th of having maintained a correspondence in the town of Strasburgh, tending to stir up the neighbouring departments, for the purpose of effecting there a diversion in favour of England; 6th, of being one of the favourers and accomplices of the conspiracy planned by the English against the life of the First Consul, and intending, in case of the success of that conspiracy, to enter France.

The Sitting having been opened, the President ordered the Reporter to read all the documents; as well those in the charge as those in the defence.

The papers having been read, the President ordered the guard to bring in the accused, who was introduced free, and without irons, before the Commission.

Being interrogated as to his christian and surnames, age, place of birth, and residence:

He answered, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien, aged 32 years, born at Chantilly, near Paris, having quitted France on the 16th July, 1789.

After having interrogated the accused through the medium of the President, with respect to every part of the contents of the charge against him: having heard the Reporter in his report and in his conclusions, and the Accused in his means of defence; after the latter had declared that he had nothing to add in his justification, the President demanded of the members, whether they had any observations to make. Upon their answer in the negative, and before he put it to the vote, he ordered the accused to withdraw. The accused was then conducted back to prison by his escort; and the Reporter, the Register, as also the citizens who attended as auditors, retired at the desire of the President.

The Commission having deliberated in private, the President put the following questions:

Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien, accused,

1st, Of having carried arms against the French Republic—Is he guilty?

2d, Of having offered his services to the English

lish Government, the enemy of the French People—Is he guilty ;

3d, Of having received and accredited about him agents of the said English Government ; of having procured for them the means of keeping up an understanding in France ; of having conspired with them against the internal and external safety of the State—Is he guilty ?

4th, Of having put himself at the head of a body of French emigrants and others, in the pay of England, formed upon the frontiers of France in the countries of Fribourg and Baden—Is he guilty ?

5th, Of having kept up a correspondence in Strasburgh, tending to produce a rising of the neighbouring departments, to effect there a diversion favourable to England—Is he guilty ?

6th, Of having been one of the favourers and accomplices of the conspiracy framed by the English against the life of the First Consul; and intending, in case of the success of that conspiracy, to enter France—Is he guilty ?

The voices being received separately upon each of the above questions, beginning with the junior in rank, the President giving his opinion the last ;

The

The Commission declares Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien—

1st, Unanimously, guilty of having carried arms against the French Republic.

2dly, Unanimously, guilty of having offered his services to the English Government, the enemy of the French People.

3dly, Unanimously, guilty of having received and accredited about him agents of the said English Government, of having procured them the means of keeping up an understanding in France, and of having conspired with them against the external and internal safety of the State.

4thly, Unanimously, guilty of putting himself at the head of a body of French emigrants and others, in the pay of England, formed upon the frontiers of France, in the countries of Fribourg and of Baden,

5thly, Unanimously, guilty of having kept up a correspondence in Strasburgh, tending to stir up the neighbouring departments, to effect there a diversion favourable to England.

6thly, Unanimously, guilty of being one of the favourers and accomplices of the conspiracy planned by the English against the life of the

First Consul; and intending, in case of the success of that conspiracy, to enter France.

Upon this the President put the question relative to the application of the punishment. The voices were received again in the form above mentioned.

The Special Military Commission condemns, unanimously, to the pain of death, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke of Enghien, in satisfaction of the crimes of being a Spy, of carrying on a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, and of an attempt against the internal and external safety of the State.

The said sentence is pronounced in conformity with article ii. title iv. of the military code of crimes and punishments of the 12th November, year 5; 1st and 2d section of the first title of the ordinary penal code of the 6th of October 1791, thus expressed, viz.

2. Of the 12th November, year 5, "Every person, whatever may be his state, quality, or profession, convicted of being a spy for the enemy, shall be punished with death."

Art. 1. Every conspiracy and attempt against the Republic shall be punished with death.

2. (Of the sixth of October 1791), Every conspiracy

spiracy and plot tending to disturb the State by a civil war, by arming the citizens against each other, or against the exercise of the lawful authority, shall be punished with death.

Orders the Captain Reporter to read the sentence, in presence of the guard assembled under arms, to the condemned.

Orders that there shall be sent within the time prescribed by the law, due diligence being used by the President and the Reporter, a copy to the Minister at War and the Grand Judge, the Minister of Justice, and the General in Chief, Governor of Paris.

Done, concluded, and judged, without separating, the said month, day, and year, in public sitting; and the members of the Special Military Commission have signed, with the Reporter and Register, the minute of the judgment.

Signed—GUITON, BAZANCOURT, RANIER, BARROIS, RABBE, D'AUTENCOURT, Captain Reporter, MOLIN, Captain Register, and HULIN, President.

In this mock trial, accusations as ridiculous as groundless are presented, but no evidence is produced; which proves the truth of the Duke's assertion, when before the tribunal of his murderers,

derers, *that his sentence was pronounced before he had left Strasburgh; that he was only the innocent victim of the ferocious Buonaparte's rage against the Bourbons.* Should other Sovereigns not avenge this atrocious crime, they or their children must sooner or later share the fate of the Duke of Enghien; because, whatever rank Buonaparte assumes, he is unable to change his birth; and guilty as he is, he will consider every good prince, as much a censuring enemy as a proud superior, with whom neither an Imperial crown, however brilliant, nor enterprizes, however successful, can make him even an equal. He knows that he is despised and detested by all hereditary Sovereigns; and his dark, barbarous, and revengeful soul will never cease to plan subversions, or to commit or command murders, until the grave of the last lawful prince is inundated with the blood of the last loyal subject.

The Duke of Enghien shewed himself a worthy descendant of the Condés, even in the den where he was surrounded by the hired assassins of the usurper of his family's throne. His firmness was as great during his trial, as his resignation after being condemned, and would have moved even revolutionary brigands, had not

not Buonaparte, from all his ruffian accomplices, procured the most wicked to dispatch a Bourbon. His Highness's calmness and courage on this trying occasion were the most surprizing, as during the five preceding days and nights, every indignity had been offered him that could irritate his mind, and he had endured every suffering that could enervate his body. From the time of his arrest, bread and water had been his only nourishment— he had never been once permitted to lie down on a bed, to undress, to shave, or to change his linen. From the weight of his fetters, and from the fatigue of a long journey, his feet and legs were so swollen that he could hardly stand. For the fourteen hours that he lived after condemnation, he was shut up with four gens-d'armes d'elite, or *chosen spies*, in the dungeon at Vincennes, without a bed, and even without a chair. In a corner only was some rotten straw, on which he sat down; but he was prevented from a moment's rest by the noise, questions, and cannibal songs, of these satellites, who had orders to prevent even his slumbers. A clergyman was with him for an hour, but was not permitted to speak with him, unless he spoke so loud as to be heard by the guards.

Before day-light in the morning of the 21st, General Murat, under an escort of Mamelukes, arrived at Vincennes; he was accompanied by four aids-de-camp, and Generals Edward Mortier, Duroc, Hulin, and Louis Buonaparte, who had come on purpose from the coast. Each Mameluke held a flambeau; and Italian troops and gens d'armes surrounding the castle, prevented the approach of every one, and guarded all the avenues to that part of the wood of Vincennes appointed as the place of execution. The Duke, being told that his sentence was to be executed, said calmly, "I am ready and resigned!

> Ce malheureux heros, sans armes, sans defense,
> Voyant qu'il faut perer, et perir sans vengeance,
> Voulut mourir, du moins, comme il avait vecu,
> *Avec toute sa gloire* et *toute sa vertu*.
>
> VOLTAIRE.

When his Highness heard, upon inquiry, that the grenadiers commanded to shoot him were Italians of Buonaparte's guard, he said, "Thank God! they are not Frenchmen—I am condemned by a foreigner, and God be praised that my executioners are also foreigners—it will be a stain less upon my countrymen! At the place of execution he lifted his hands towards heaven, exclaiming, "*May God preserve my King, and deliver my country from the yoke of the foreigner!*"

Two

Two gens-d'armes then proposed to tie an handkerchief over his eyes; but he said, "A loyal soldier, who has so often been exposed to fire and sword, can see the approach of death with naked eyes and without fear. He then looked at the grenadiers, who had already pointed their fusils at him, saying, "Grenadiers! lower your arms, otherwise you will miss me, or only wound me!" Of the nine grenadiers who fired at him, seven hit him: two bullets had pierced his head, and five his body. Immediately after his murder General Murat sent his aid-de-camp to Buonaparte at Malmaison. A small coffin, filled with lime, was ready to receive his corpse, and a grave had been dug in the garden of the castle, where he was buried.

Such was the end of the Duke of Enghien, inhumanly butchered in the 32d year of his age, by the barbarous foreign usurper of the throne of his family: a prince, who would have illustrated obscurity by his talents, but who often forgot his rank, when the misery of others made it necessary to descend to that of an individual; whose humanity preserved the lives of thousands of republicans vanquished by his valour, and whose generosity relieved those of them in an enemy's country, who were destitute,

in prisons, or suffering on a sick bed;—they all found in him a second Providence.

In *Les Nouvelles à la Main*, Fructidor 20th, year 12, or September 5th, 1804, pages 9 and 10, is related, as a known fact at Paris, "that Madame Buonaparte implored her ferocious husband, upon her knees, 'to spare the life of the Duke of Enghien, to whose father and grandfather herself and her family owed the greatest obligations, for their protection and generosity during monarchy.' Napoleon let her repeat her request several times, while he was marching, much agitated, backwards and forwards in the small saloon at Malmaison, without paying attention to what she said. At last, her patience being tired, she threw herself at his feet, crying 'Pardon! Pardon!' He then regarded her with the most terrible look, which terrified her so much, that she fainted away, and was carried senseless out of the room. In this state of insensibility she remained near three hours, and at her recovery, Madame Remusat, her lady in waiting, presented her a letter from her husband, full of reproaches for her *impolitic* and *unseasonable* interference, when it was a question about *un grand coup d'etat*, which surpassed her comprehension. He declared, at the same time, that both

both his and her life and rank depended upon the *removal* of the Duke of Enghien, more than even upon that of the Duke of Angouleme, *because the former had many friends in the French army*, where the latter was hardly known. 'That we, besides,' added Buonaparte, 'have more to apprehend from his enterprizing character than from that of any other Bourbon, the following letter may convince you :'

TO HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY LOUIS XVIII. KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

"SIRE,

"The letter of the 2d March, with which your Majesty has vouchsafed to honour me, reached me in due time. Your Majesty, is too well acquainted with the blood which flows in my veins, to have entertained a moment's doubt respecting the tenor and spirit of the answer which your Majesty calls for. I am a Frenchman, Sire, and a Frenchman *faithful to his God, to his King*, and *of course to the oaths that are binding by his honour as much as by his religion. Many others may, perhaps, one day envy me this triple advantage.* Will your Majesty, therefore, vouchsafe to permit me to annex my signature to that of the Duke d'Angouleme, adhering, as I do, with him in

heart and soul, to the contents of the note of my Sovereign? It is in these *invariable sentiments*, that I remain, Sire,

"Your Majesty's most humble,

"most obedient,

"and very *faithful* subject and servant,

"(Signed) LOUIS ANTOINE HENRY DE BOURBON.

"Ettenheim, in the Dominions of the Margrave of Baden, March 22d, 1803."

This letter was written in consequence of the humiliating proposal made by the Prussian President, Meyer, at Warsaw, in February 1803, in the name of one legitimate king upon his throne, to another legitimate king in exile, of resigning his hereditary right to the throne of France to the foreign adventurer, the sworn and natural enemy to all hereditary sovereignty, who had usurped it by force and fraud, and preserved his usurpation by the impunity that he held out to regicides, and by the national plunder with which he rewarded his criminal accomplices, those who had butchered with him in Europe, and poisoned with him in Africa, and Asia.* In

* In a note of the same Number of *Les Nouvelles à la Main*, it is said, that bets are laid at Paris, "that before twelve months after the day of the martyrdom of the Duke of Enghien, Napoleon

In his person the Duke of Enghien was handsome, and of a noble and graceful figure. The sound of his voice was harmonious, and his expressions correct and natural. In his manners he was condescending, in his conversation lively, but becoming. Ever master of himself, his temper was always equal and moderate. He was frequently so polite and obliging, that it might have been taken for familiarity, but for that air of dignity which never left him, which was born with him, and which followed him to the grave. From his youth he was an enemy to idleness and fond of those exercises which contribute to strengthen the constitution, and to accustom a person intended for a military life to the fatigues of war. Fencing and hunting were often his amusements before he headed battalions or commanded armies. His courage and capacity were known before they were tried. Nature as well as education, had made him a general. His brilliant qualities during the first campaign made him distinguished even in the midst of so many heroes of his family. Faithful to the noble principles of his ancestors; convinced, with them,

leon the First, so fond of elevations, will be elevated on a gibbet, and Madame Buonaparte confined in a house of correction!!!" The above letter is found translated in the London papers of July 25th, 1804.

that a good general may be defeated, but cannot be taken by surprize, he was determined never to be attacked unprepared. He was therefore always sober, active, and vigilant; hearing all reports, receiving all advices, and attentive even to rumours that were circulated in his camp. He never ceased to observe his enemy, and to meditate on their lesser movements, either to discover or prevent their projects; either to turn them against themselves, or to render them of no use by his means of defence. Fully aware of that dangerous confidence, which want of rest after long fatigues is often inclined to give, he depended only upon himself to reconnoitre the ground, to establish posts, and to fix the place of rendezvous in case of sudden attacks. Constantly the first every where, every part of the service equally fixed his attention, particularly what could in any way contribute to the comforts, or relieve the pains of his soldiers. Though severe with others as with himself, he was always liberal, just, and good, with those who served under him, and therefore soon became their idol. A competent judge of military as well as of all other kinds of merit, the Archduke Charles on all occasions extolled his Highness's talents; admired his courage; desired and obtained his friend-

friendship; and now deplores his untimely loss. If Champagny, the Consular emissary at Vienna, has reported faithfully what he has heard and seen in that capital, the usurper is informed, that England, Russia, and Poland, are not the only countries where loyalty mourns, and where virtue abhors, Buonaparte's atrocities. To the honour of the British nation, the feelings were the same, and unanimous among all classes of people; and the wanton murder of the Duke of Enghien has made Buonaparte execrated even by those who hitherto had doubted, palliated, or disbelieved, his former enormous crimes.

Two solemn services have been celebrated in the Roman Catholic chapels in London, at the command and expence of the French Princes and emigrants, in honour of the memory, and for the repose of the soul, of the late Duke of Enghien. The chapels, though one of them can contain 1800 persons, were not large enough for admitting half the number of those who presented themselves. More of the English nobility and gentry, than of the French, were present in these devout and pious assemblies, so general was the interest which the unfortunate destiny of the butchered hero inspired, and the horror

horror and detestation of the monster who was his assassin*.

In

* The following are the correct particulars of the funeral services celebrated for the Duke of Enghien.

On the 18th of April a solemn service, in honour of the late Duke of Enghien, was celebrated at the desire of His Royal Highness Monsieur, brother to the King of France and Navarre, in the Roman Catholic Chapel, King-street, Portman-square. The Bishop of Montpellier officiated pontifically. The Abbé de la Tille, Chaplain to His Royal Highness Monsieur, pronounced a brief but beautiful sermon from the 20th and 21st verses of the 9th chapter of the First book of the Maccabees:

Et fleverunt eum omnis populis Israel, planctu magno, et lugebant dies multos. Et dixerunt: quo modo cecidit potens, qui salvum faciebat populum Israel.

The eloquent Preacher, without entering into the particulars of the short but brilliant career of this amiable and much-lamented Prince, drew tears from every eye, by the unaffected piety of his sentiments, and his pathetic expression. He confined himself to a view of this young hero, as a model of fidelity and devotion to his King, at a time when fidelity was so rare in most continental countries among subjects, and loyalty among princes. He recommended resignation in sufferings to the will of God, and confidence in the Divine Justice, which never fails to avenge the innocent, and punish the guilty. The preacher frequently burst into tears, which interrupted his speech. It is impossible to describe the sensation produced by the following passage towards the close of the sermon:

"Speaking as I am, to Christian Princes, and to Chevaliers always faithful to the religion of their ancestors, as well as to the laws of honour, I will only call to your remembrance the last words of the hero whose untimely end we here deplore!!!—*Oh my God, preserve my King and deliver my Country from the yoke of the foreigner!*" He then added, "Let us all repeat this

prayer

In their lamentable condition, it must be a consolation (if consolation be possible) for their Serene

prayer to the God of Goodness! *May the Almighty save our virtuous King, and preserve His Majesty from those dangers which surround him!!!* ' At these words the audience were deeply affected, and overwhelmed with grief. In this pious and devout circle, we observed His Royal Highness Monsieur, the Duke of Berry, Duke of Orleans, Duke of Montpensier, Duke of Beaujolois, all the French Bishops, and French Nobility, with a great number of the English Nobility of both sexes. The chapel could not contain one half of the company who presented themselves. The Prince of Condé and the Duke of Bourbon were not present. They were indisposed at Wanstead-house; to which place, we understand, Her Majesty and the Royal Dukes frequently sent to inquire after their health.

On the 27th of April, at the chapel of St. Patrick, in Soho-square, a solemn service was performed for the repose of the soul of the late Duke of Enghien, at the request and expence of the French emigrant nobility and gentry. Notwithstanding most of them have scarcely the means of subsistence, there was an honourable emulation to contribute to this funeral ceremony, not commanded by an usurper, but offered voluntarily as a feeble but sincere proof of their attachment to the family of their King, and of their high consideration for their Serene Highnesses the Prince de Condé and the Duke of Bourbon. The expence of the decorations amounted to 600l.

The Bishop of Montpellier officiated pontifically, and the Abbé de Bouvens, Vicar-General to the Bishop of Arras, pronounced the funeral sermon.

The chapel was hung with black, all round, from the top to the bottom. In the front, and at the sides, were placed 72 girandoles, ornamented with many wax candles, and 144 escutcheons of the arms of Condé.

Near the altar was elevated a *catafalque*, or sarcophagus, surmounted

rene Highnesses the Prince de Condé and Duke of Bourbon to be convinced, that by all good and loyal

mounted with a canopy supported by four columns, and ornamented with a number of white feathers. Round it were several wax candles intermixed with the escutcheons of the arms of Condé. Four mutes were placed at the four corners.

A row of *fauteuils* or elbow-chairs were placed by the right side of the choir, where his Royal Highness Monsieur, brother to the King of France, with their Serene Highnesses the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Montpensier, and Beaujolois, were seated; opposite them were placed all the French Bishops yet faithful to their God and to their King.

The Chapel, though it can contain 1800 persons, was not large enough for half of those who presented themselves. More English ladies, noblemen, and gentlemen, were observed in this assembly than Frenchmen, so general and so honourable to the feelings of the English Nation, was the interest which the unfortunate destiny of the murdered hero inspired, and the horror and the detestation of the monster who committed this murder.

Eight hundred ladies occupied the galleries. The gentlemen sat below in the choir and at the sides. Three hundred cards had been distributed: among the English nobility were observed, the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Portland, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Talbot, Chatham, Kilmain, with several others, besides most of the members of the foreign diplomatic corps.

The preacher pronounced his sermon with a strong and clear voice, so as to be heard distinctly in every part of the chapel; from the beginning he fixed the attention of every one. He delivered gracefully what he conceived with truth and sentiment.

Not an eye was dry, not a heart that did not feel pity for the virtuous victim of the malice and cruelty of the usurper.

He chose for his text the 39th and 40th verses of the 12th chapter of the first book of the Maccabees;---

Et cum cogitasset Tryphon, regnere Asiæ et assumere diadema et extendere manum in Antiochum regem.

"*Timens*

loyal Sovereigns as well as subjects, justice is rendered to the virtues of the Duke of Enghien; and

"*Timeus ne forte non permetteret adversus eum, Jonathas, sed pugnaret adversus eum, quærebat comprehendere eum et occidere.*"

Having expatiated upon the virtues, courage, and talents of Jonathan, and of his zeal to save his country, the preacher said, after having mentioned these particulars, to mention the name of the Duke of Enghien was to complete the parallel.

He spoke of those traits of valour which so clearly distinguished the Duke of Enghien, and made him admired as an hero, before he was entitled to be called a man. He represented him combating, with his grandfather and father wounded by his side, covering himself with the laurels of victory, and afterwards distinguishing himself by his humanity and generosity toward his enemies; and finally honouring the name of Condé, already overcharged with a lustre and glory difficult to support and to carry.

After having eloquently pourtrayed, and feelingly deplored the misfortunes of France, under the yoke of a foreigner, he addressed to God a fervent prayer to restore his country to her former tranquillity and happiness; and he thanked the Almighty for not permitting such an atrocious assassination, perpetrated in the darkness of the night, to be committed by the hands of Frenchmen.

He represented the young hero raising his hands towards Heaven, and praying, "*May God preserve my King, and deliver my country from the yoke of the foreigner!*"—"Let us (said he) remember this invocation; and let us ardently pray God to give our virtuous, but unfortunate King, a safe retreat, where he may be out of the reach of regicides, and their weak or vile accomplices; and let us repeat upon the tomb of a Bourbon, our oath of fidelity to our lawful King, and his heirs and family. May we all be able to say in the last moment of our lives, as on this day, "You know our heavenly Saviour, that we have suffered persecution, contempt, and poverty—but we have never been apostates to our *God*, nor traitors to our *King*."

and that in the present, as well as in future ages, every tender parent, either residing humbly in a cottage, or gloriously occupying a throne, will hold out this Prince as a model for their children, that they may learn how to live like heroes, and how to die like Christians! *Disce, puer, virtutem ab illo** ! ! !"

He taught us how to live; and oh! too high
The price of knowledge, taught us how to die!

It is impossible to do justice in an extract, to a sermon, of which no just idea can be formed, without reading or hearing the whole, as it did not contain a phrase that was not remarkable for its justness, its beauty, and its propriety.

Their Serene Highnesses the Prince de Condé and the Duke of Bourbon were not present. They continued ill at Wanstead-house.

* The Author has been favoured with most of the particulars of this sketch by noblemen who have fought by the side of the Duke of Enghien; to whom, besides, he had the honour of being presented as long ago as 1788. Other *authentic* sources have been used, but which the Author is not permitted to mention. The very interesting *L'Ambigu* of the loyal M. Peltier has been consulted in some parts of the campaigns. The original is well worth reading.

LOUIS XVIII.

KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

LOUIS Stanislaus Xavier, Count de Provence (since the accession to the throne of France of his elder brother, the good and unfortunate Louis XVI. commonly known by the name of Monsieur), was the protector of sciences and men of letters from his youth, and a patriot before he was a man. In the vicious court of his grandfather, Louis XV. no malice dared to suspect his morals, and no scandal could publish his vices. Like his elder brother, he loved virtue, adored religion, and respected the laws of his country, and the liberties and rights of his countrymen; strict and severe with himself, he was indulgent to others; but barefaced wickedness never escaped his contempt, censure, or reprobation. That old corrupt courtier, the Duke of Richelieu, and others of his description, honoured, therefore, the Count de Provence with the mock appellation of "the young Cato at an old Court."

When,

When, in 1787, want of order, or profusion, forced M. de Calonne to convoke the Notables, the Count de Provence, then Monsieur, opposed all infraction of the privileges of the nobility and clergy, and all new burthens proposed to be laid upon the people, because, said he, "I am convinced that some few years of economy and regularity will more than supply the deficiency of the revenue." His answer to M. de Calonne, who told him it was the King's desire that the plan of finance laid before the Notables should be accepted, is well known, and has long been admired; "My heart," said this Prince, "is alike my brother's and the people's; my understanding is my own; and my head is the King's." Had his advice been followed by M. de Calonne's successors, the ambitious intriguers de Brienne and Necker, what a series of wretchedness would both France and Europe have avoided!!

At the breaking out of the French rebellion in 1789, instead of emigrating, as most of the other Princes of the blood royal did, Monsieur continued in his former modest residence, and boldly defended the prerogatives of his Sovereign, as well as the claims or demands of the subjects, when the latter did not encroach upon the former. After the Parisian mob and murderers had, on the

6th

6th of October, amid the heads of his butchered guard-de-corps upon pikes, forced Louis XVI. from Versailles, and escorted him and his royal family to Paris, Monsieur took up his settled abode in the Luxemburgh, in the very apartments since occupied by the regicide Barras, and at present by the regicide Abbe and Senator Sieyes. He was now the only and necessary consoler and friend to the dearest of brothers and best of Kings, whom ingratitude, desertion, and rebellion, had isolated, and made destitute and miserable, though the hereditary chief over a civilized, populous, and rich people. To deprive him even of this last consolation, and at the same time, Monsieur of his popularity, every calumny that treachery could invent, and disaffection propagate, was spread about by the then licentious presses of France. In January 1791, the chief rebel La Fayette, and his accomplices, in hopes to humiliate the brother of their King with the King himself, and to undermine hereditary monarchy, implicated Monsieur in a *pretended* conspiracy of the Marquis de Favras! and persuaded him under a promise and hope of saving innocence from the then fashionable lamp-post of the sovereign people, to descend and exculpate himself before a vile and seditious municipality. His condescension and humanity

humanity had, however, not the desired effect; La Fayette and Mirabeau, without faith and honour, as well as without loyalty, wanted to inspire terror by the execution of Favras, who was the first faithful and innocent subject to perish, in consequence of a mock trial, and a mock sentence of a mock tribunal of rebels.

From that period Monsieur was exposed to public insult; and with Louis XVI. continually threatened with destruction. Under the windows of his apartments, he heard the act of accusation against himself, and all the other Bourbons, cried about, as preparatory to their condemnation, distributed from the presses of the notorious jacobin Prudhomme. At length his patience was exhausted; and his personal safety, and the welfare of France demanded that he should try to break the bondage under which he had for two years groaned. More fortunate, or rather less unfortunate, than Louis XVI. by the courageous assistance of a loyal Swede, Count de Fersen, he escaped, in June 1791, by way of Valenciennes, into Brabant; while the ill-placed, though praise-worthy, humanity of Louis XVI. caused himself to be arrested at Varennes. He now joined his brother, Count d'Artois, and the other Princes of his house, at Coblentz, and began

gan to organize an army of emigrants, according to the plan of the Emperor Leopold and the Kings of Prussia and Sweden; who, with their joint forces, had promised to re-establish order in France, and to revenge insulted royalty.

When the Constituent Assembly, with the execration of all good men, resigned its usurpation to the Legislative Assembly, composed of even more atrocious characters than its atrocious predecessor, one of the first decrees was, "to declare Monsieur to have forfeited his eventual right to the regency, if he did not return to France within the space of two months." Without considering what right rebels had to dictate laws to the brother of their King, the cruel fate of Louis XVI. and his Queen, of Madame Elizabeth, and of Louis XVII. shews what Louis XVIII. might have expected, had he trusted to their decree, and surrendered himself to their ferocity.

After this assembly had declared war against Austria and Germany, the armed loyal emigrants, collected near Coblentz, were ordered to act under the command of Monsieur, who, in his turn, depended upon the orders of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick. Before the emigrants, called the royal army, approached

proached the French frontiers, a manifesto was published, and signed by Monsieur and the other French Princes. In this it was truly observed, "that the Revolution had converted a mild people, attached to their King, into hordes of robbers, cannibals, and regicides: every idea of revenge was disclaimed by the Princes, who wished only to become the deliverers of their country, and the restorers of good order, of laws, and of humanity." Toward the conclusion, their Highnesses gave "the most pressing invitation to the French troops to return to their ancient fidelity, to their lawful Sovereign, and to join those forces which they commanded for him." Unfortunately this liberal invitation was not listened to, being made ineffectual by the duplicity and jealousy of Prussia; and 22,000 French noblemen and gentlemen, armed in the cause of monarchy and religion, were, by the ungenerous conduct of the Prussian Monarch, obliged to disperse and become miserable wanderers, without a friend, without a home, and without resources; and to exhibit their wretchedness in most parts of Europe and America, after being plundered, betrayed, and proscribed in their own country.

Poison, in 1795, made the throne of France again

again vacant by the death of Louis XVII. the ill-fated son of the ill-fated Louis XVI. who, before he had reached his second lustre, had seen his father, mother, and aunt, murdered, and his sister with himself treated with brutality and cruelty, and suffering from want in the same prison which his parents and relatives had left only to ascend the scaffold. Monsieur now succeeded his nephew, and assumed the name of Louis XVIII. with the title of King of France and Navarre, and was proclaimed and acknowledged as such, both in the army of Condé, and by the royalists in La Vendée.

Louis XVIII. had since 1792 resided in different parts of Germany; at Turin with his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia; and at last at Verona, under the name of Count de Lille. In the spring of 1796, the Republic of Venice, to please Buonaparte, added insult to the misfortunes of the King of France, by ordering him to quit Verona and the Venetian territory. With a spirit and dignity that never forsook this Prince, he demanded the *Livre D'Or*, containing all the names of the Venetian Nobles, and erased from it that of the Bourbons, inscribed by his great grandfather's grandfather Henry IV. Revolutionary France always degraded those go-

vernments which it intended to destroy. The rebel Buonaparte, whom Venice had basely flattered, revenged the wrongs done to Louis XVIII. his King; for, in the spring of 1797, by the orders of Buonaparte, Venice was declared no longer an independent state.

In the summer of this year, having left Venice for Germany, a foreign assassin, or French regicide, waited for him there. Standing in the window of an obscure inn of a small village, a shot was fired at this Prince, which wounded him slightly in the head. The perpetrator of the deed has never been discovered; because Louis XVIII. forbade all search to be made; saying "It must either be a mistake or a premeditated crime—in the former case, it would be cruel to pursue; and in the latter, *as I have done no human being any harm, the person who would murder me, has punishment enough in his own bosom, and wants my forgiveness more than I do his death!!*"

In 1798, Louis XVIII. was acknowledged by the Emperor of Russia, Paul the First, as King of France and Navarre; and was invited by him to reside in the ducal castle at Mittau, until he could restore him to the throne of his ancestors. Louis XVIII. left therefore the army of Condé, with whom he had for near two years shared all privations,

privations, penury, wants, and dangers. At Mittau the King of France was at first treated with all the honours due to a Sovereign, which another more fortunate, liberal-minded Sovereign could bestow. He had a guard of honour of 200 Russians in his castle, besides a body-guard of French noblemen, created for him, and paid by the Emperor. The Russian Commander at Mittau was entirely under his orders, and his levees were crowded by the nobility of Courland, Livonia, and Russia. As the pecuniary bounties of Paul were more than sufficient for a prince, economical from principle and custom, as well as from delicacy, a number of ruined emigrants flocked to Russia to share them. The duration of this prosperous adversity, however, was not long. The generous but weak Emperor, seduced by republican intriguers, suddenly changed his conduct, and, adopting the ignoble sentiments of his new ignoble friend Buonaparte, sent the King, whom he had acknowledged and invited to his dominions, *orders* to leave the Russian territority within a week.

Three months previous to this order, the payment of the usual pension had been withheld; Louis XVIII. and all the Frenchmen at Mittau were, therefore, reduced to the greatest distress,

because they had all been ordered to depart with their King.

The Duchess of Angouleme, the virtuous daughter of Louis XVI. had never ceased to reside with her uncle, since she had recovered her liberty, and married her first cousin. Louis XVIII. always the same, told her his determination "to quit, within 24 hours, a country where insult and humiliation had taken the place of hospitality; and that, as he had not the means to travel as he had formerly done, and the little that he possessed was necessary for the support of those of his subjects who had accompanied him, he would, the next day, on foot, leave Mittau, and shew the unfortunate French emigrants an example how to support misfortunes." At her marriage, the Duchess of Angouleme had received from her first cousins, the Emperor and Empress of Germany, an *ecrin*, or jewel-box: without informing any body of her intention, she sent for some Jews, and obtained upon these jewels a sum of money, sufficient, not only for her uncle's travelling expences, but to provide for the present wants of her countrymen at Mittau; and when her uncle the next morning found out this generous act, the tears of all relieved Frenchmen told their Prince, that by pressing his

niece

niece to his bosom, he should reward, instead of resenting, the first act of her life which she ever concealed from him. This young Princess had, in the dungeons of the Temple, early learned to know the little value of either jewels, rank, or life, as well as the real duty of humanity, and the worth of undeserved wretchedness!

After some wandering in the wilds of inhospitable Prussia, the policy of Buonaparte to keep Louis XVIII. at a distance from his kingdom, left him at last permission to inhabit the castle of the dethroned King of Poland at Warsaw, where, in more fortunate times, one of his own ancestors, Henry III. had ruled as a King—where his maternal grandfather, Stanislaus, had been elected King by a Polish diet, and proscribed as an usurper by a Polish faction. What painful remembrances, what sad reflections, for the well-informed and active mind of Louis XVIII.!

The tranquillity of this retreat was disturbed last February, by another humiliation from another Monarch. The Prussian President, Meyer, had the audacity to ask Louis XVIII. to renounce what he had no right to renounce, the Throne of France, in favour of a murderer and poisoner, whom crime and success, not merit or choice, had seated upon it. The well-known noble and

dignified answer of this Prince must convince Mr. Meyer, and all Europe, that though fortune may desert virtue, and render it distressed or miserable, she is unable to degrade or dishonour it.

The present magnanimous Russian Emperor provides, with Imperial liberality, for the necessities of Louis XVIII. and his few followers, in the former capital of Poland, where religion consoles and study improves the knowledge of one of the most humane and best-informed among modern Sovereigns—whose constancy and courage, during a long and unexampled adversity, have only been surpassed by his modesty and moderation, when surrounded by every thing that made rank illustrious, ambition tempting, and life desirable.

This portrait of an unfortunate King is historical and not flattering; it contains historical facts, not imaginary fictions. A christian submits; but a heathen would have exclaimed, "that the decrees of Providence are incomprehensible, if not unjust, when Buonaparte prospers while Louis XVIII. suffers; when Buonaparte reigns in France, while Louis XVIII. is an exile in Poland*!!!"

One

* A pamphlet printed at Hamburgh, 1802, called "Mes Souvenirs en Russie," contains many of the anecdotes related in this sketch.

One could hardly suppose, but that the Corsican usurper, Napoleone Buonaparte, after seizing the throne, and enjoying the authority of his legitimate Sovereign, would have been satisfied with keeping his most Christian Majesty in exile; but while this work was in the press, another plot* of the darkest hue was attempted

* On the 22d of July, the Baron deMilleville, Equerry to the Queen of France, disclosed to the Duc de Pienne, the plot, as it had been denounced to him by a person of the name of Coulon, a Frenchman, a native of Lyons, who, after having been in the service of the said Baron de Milleville had married a Polish woman, and settled at Warsaw, where he kept a billiard-table. This man stated, that on the preceding Friday, the 20th, two persons came to his billiard-room, and made many inquiries of him, relative to the King, and his own situation; that the following day they returned, and made fresh inquiries respecting Louis XVIII. They wished, they said, to know whether his Majesty went out often---by what number of men he was usually accompanied--and whether his attendants were armed or not?--They then asked Coulon, whether he himself was in debt, and whether he would not be glad to find an opportunity to obtain immediately a considerable sum of money for a particular service?--Being answered in the affirmative, they observed to him that as he was known to the persons belonging to the household of the King, he might easily obtain admission into the kitchen; and if he consented to throw, unperceived, into the boiler (*la marmite*), a little parcel which would be given to him, his fortune would be made: 400 Louis d'ors would be given to him in the first instance, and 100 more for every individual of the Royal Family who might die in the course of a twelvemonth. They added that he was not to trouble himself about his wife, for they would take her safely to France; and when they were

tempted by this audacious rebel, against the unfortunate Louis XVIII. He has not sent a band

about to part, he heard them say in Italian, "We have no time to lose; the day is come when we ought to strike."

On the following day (Tuesday the 22d), after many visits from them, another ruffian, whom Coulon had not before seen, called on him in the evening, and requested him to take a walk with him, in order that they might speak more freely on a subject of great concern, which had been mentioned to him the preceding day. In the course of their walk, they were met by one of the two who had first opened the project to Coulon.

Considering him a man discontented with his lot, and ready to catch at any chance that promised better, they unfolded to him the secret which was to make his fortune:--"You are well acquainted," said they, "with the cook of Louis the XVIIIth. Upon your next visit to him, about the hour when he is preparing dinner, throw two carrots which we will give you into the kettle in which the soup is boiled for the Pretender's table. If he shall die in a given time after, you shall receive 400 Louis d'ors; but should his wife, with the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme, share his fate, 1200 Louis d'ors shall be paid to you by Monsieur Boyer, Commercial Commissary to the Emperor of the French in this city. Do not apprehend any punishment from the success of the attempt. You reside in a country, the Sovereign of which is the steady and sincere friend of Napoleon the First, and whose Ministers are as much attached to France as to their own country. As to remorse of conscience, the fortune that has seated Buonaparte upon the throne of France will support him there, and shew that he deserves it; and providence and fortune are the same. The Bourbon race are proscribed by destiny, and therefore, in dispatching them, you serve the Divinity. You might, perhaps, apprehend the vengeance of other Bourbons, who reside in England; but you ought to know, that their destroyers follow them as their shades; and, although they are still among the living, the grave is dug ready to swallow its victim,

band of assassins to Warsaw, as to Ettenheim, to carry off the King of France, and murder him like victim, and they shall only live to see the day of Buonaparte's coronation. This is the time appointed by the Eternal FOR AN UNIVERSAL CHANGE OF DYNASTIES OVER THE WORLD; and, before ten years, not a Prince will reign who was not, ten years before, an unnoticed subject. The Emperor of the French can never rule with safety, until fortune and merit have taken the place of birth-right and prerogatives, until all present Sovereigns shall have been dethroned or annihilated, and individuals like himself placed upon their thrones. "Do not think," said they, "that what we promise are the sudden and insignificant sentiments of men imposed upon, or impostors themselves. We are members of Buonaparte's secret police, whose influence extends to all countries, to all ranks, who distribute indemnities among the Germans, who prepared the death of the Duke of Enghien, the disgrace of Drake, and the elevation of a Parmasan Prince to the throne of Etruria." In the course of an entertainment, which lasted from three o'clock until nine, these and other such sentiments were infused into his mind; and with a view to complete by terror what temptation might leave unfinished, they produced pistols, daggers, and poison, intimating at the same time, that not only the suspected traitor, but the man who proved lukewarm in the cause of the Emperor of the French, should certainly perish. Their unfortunate guest assented to every thing they said, as well from policy as from necessity.

Coulon insisted on receiving some money, on account of the 400 Louis which had been promised him; upon which one of the ruffians, who was in liquor, said: "I don't know whether Boyer (the name of the commercial agent at Warsaw) would consent to give so large a sum." His companion, condemning this indiscretion, replied: "Why do you mention Boyer: he is not in town; he will not return these two days." At last they gave him a ducat to get some wine to drink with the cook, and made an appointment for the following night, when they were

like the Duke of Enghien, in a ditch, in the wood of Vincennes; but, pursuing a system more congenial

to give him the parcel, which was to be thrown into the boiler. They parted at one o'clock in the morning.

The same day (Sunday) Coulon disclosed the plot to the Baron de Milleville, and the Duke de Pienne, by whom it was communicated, to Comte D'Avaray, Captain of the Guards to Louis XVIII. who hastened to inform M. de Hoym, president of the chamber, and governor of the town, of the circumstance, and who had orders from his Prussian Majesty for superintending all the concerns and safety of the French Royal Family.

At first, the president Hoym received the information with the most feeling emotion, and promised to mount his horse, and repair personally, either to the place of rendezvous fixed by the ruffians, to give the poison to Coulon, or to the spot appointed for paying him the money, and setting off for France. He also promised to send persons to secure the whole gang, and Coulon himself, in case he should have forged the story in order to obtain a reward. The sensibility of the president Hoym was highly increased by the alarming reports which were spread every day, of plots to take away the life of the King at the eve of his departure for Russia.

The 23d of July, Coulon, being ordered by the Baron de Milleville, went to the appointed spot, at a place called the New Village, situated in the middle of the lines which surround Warsaw; there he was joined by one of the men, and soon after by another, who was concealed in a corn field, and who actually delivered him the parcel, and a bottle of liquor for his own use. They agreed upon a signal, by which they were to know when the deed had been effected. They told him that when it was executed, he might repair to a place called *Les Cinq Potences*, where he would be joined by his employers, and taken to France with his wife; and in case they could not meet there, he was to go to Stockayer, where he would find them at the Post-master's house, and that he should there receive the 400 Louis.

congenial to his barbarous and cowardly heart and Italian vices, this poisoner of Jaffa has reverted

Louis. Upon his asking for some money, they gave him only six crowns, alledging that they had been already cheated more than once.

The President Hoym, however, afraid of committing his master with the French Emperor, declined either to go or send to the appointed spot, contrary to his promise. Coulon delivered the parcel and the bottle to M. de Milleville, on the 24th, in the morning. The Comte D'Avaray went at ten o'clock to M. de Hoym's, and presented him the parcel, which contained three carrots charged with arsenic. M. de Hoym, from excess of fear, refused to interfere any further in the business, saying, it should be referred to the police office; and even refused to affix his seal to the parcel, which was sealed by the Archbishop of Rheims and the Comte D'Avaray.

On that day Louis the XVIIIth was informed of the plot, His Majesty expressed the greatest and the most tender solicitude for his faithful servants, but displayed an unalterable tranquillity of mind with respect to his own personal safety. He wrote to the President, Hoym, who did not wait on his Majesty till the following day, and then confined himself to vague assurances that the business should be followed up with activity by the police officers.

A formal demand was made by the King, that a report should be made by an assembly of professional men, respecting the contents of the parcel, which demand being answered in an evasive manner, the King ordered that the parcel should be opened and examined before his own physician, M. Le Faire, aided by M. Gagatkiewish, the most eminent and respectable physician of Warsaw, Dr. Bergenzoni, and Dr. Guteil, an apothecary. One of the carrots being opened, was found perfecily sound, the upper part being covered with a kind of mastich or paste, of a colour similar to that of the root: the middle part was found to contain a powder, which, after a chymi-

verted to his old trade, and purchased executioners to dispatch Louis XVIII. by his former practice

cal operation, was discovered to be a mixture of three different sorts of arsenic, one white, another yellow, and another red. The *proces verbal* was signed by all present, and the parcel sealed again, and sent to the police office with all the necessary documents. Upon application being made by the King to M. de Tilly, Chief Magistrate, for a prosecution to be instituted, that officer, actuated by the same fears as M. de Hoym, declined to interfere, or even to order the suspected persons to be apprehended, observing that it did concern the Tribunal of Criminal Justice, and that the law of the country did not permit him to arrest any person who had not actually been *convicted* of a crime!

His most Christian Majesty intended to have left Warsaw on the 25th ult. but this scandalous affair and some other circumstances prevented it. Having informed the Prussian Commander of the day of the departure, his Majesty was told, "that it would be more agreeable to his master, if the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.) would wait some days until farther instructions could be obtained from Berlin." The King of France then asked, if he had orders to prevent his departure, and demanded to see them, adding, that if none were produced, his Majesty was determined to quit that city immediately, and nothing but open force should prevent him from doing so. A bow was the only answer of the Prussian Commander, and Louis XVIII. left Warsaw on the 30th of last month, at seven o'clock in the morning, on his way to Grodno with the Duc D'Angouleme. M. de Hoym granted his Majesty an escort of Hussars, who had strict orders not to quit his royal person until they had committed him to the care of a similar escort of Russians, who awaited his arrival on the frontiers. The Queen and the Duchess D'Angouleme only remain at Warsaw until they receive instructions from his Majesty to join him, or until that Providence, which gave him a throne, but refuses him a home, puts a stop

practice of secret poison and clandestine assassination.

A long *proces verbal* of the whole plot is in the hands of the Bourbon Princes in this country, from which the particulars in the note are an abridgement. It is signed by the Archbishop of Rheims, the Duke de Pienne, the Duke d'Havre de Croy, the Marquis de Bonnay, the Comte de la Chapelle, the Comte de Damas Crux, the Comte Etienne de Damas, and the Abbé Edgeworth de Fermont.

a stop to his wanderings, by touching the hearts of other legitimate Sovereigns, his equals, to allow him a place to reside in with safety. It is said, that his most Christian Majesty has recently been offered an asylum at Calmar, in Sweden. It is worthy the virtuous and spirited Gustavus Adolphus IV. to set other princes an example of honour and hospitality, and to defy the threats and despise the hatred of the infamous Corsican Adventurer, who has usurped the throne of the Bourbons; the sworn enemy of all hereditary rank, the blasphemer of all true religion, and the perverter and destroyer of all morality.

THE

THE ROYALIST GENERAL,
GEORGE CADOUDAL,

HONOURED BY BUONAPARTE WITH THE TITLE OF CHIEF OF BRIGANDS.

In a Revolution where so many noblemen have debased their rank, and so many clergymen dishonoured their order—where a Duke de la Rochefoucault, and a Marquis de la Fayette, have been the treacherous tools or accomplices of a rebellious mob—and a Cardinal de Brienne, and a Bishop Talleyrand de Perigord, avowed themselves apostates to their God, and traitors to their King—it is some consolation to suffering loyalty, to find, in a class that had neither privileges to defend nor places to regret, men voluntarily come forward, to combat for a throne when fallen, which they had never approached when firm—and for altars in ruins, of which they might have shared the spoils.

Cadoudal's father was a wealthy miller in Morbihan, where George was born upon the 18th of May, 1770. Intended by his parents for the church, he received a better education than most young

young men of his rank. He had scarcely left the college, before the revolution broke out. At his entrance into the world from his studious retreat, he saw nothing but crimes, and heard nothing inculcated but principles as abominable as contrary to those in which he had been brought up.—His virtuous mind did not know whom most to despise, those who undermined monarchy, or those who calumniated religion—the rebels or the atheists. He had not long to meditate upon this painful subject, before the demolition of that temple in which his infant prayers had been addressed to the Almighty, and the sale of that college wherein his youth had been instructed, determined him never to associate with men as vile as wicked, as selfish as sacrilegious, who, under the name of patriots, libelled patriotism, and, as pretended friends to liberty, organized the worst of tyranny, the tyranny of the rabble.

The year 1793 added to the wounded feelings of the loyal and religious subject, those of the outrageously injured individual. The murder of his parents, of his brother, and two sisters, followed within six months the murder of his King. Hitherto he had hesitated between emigration and misery that awaited him abroad, and the dangers

gers or death that threatened him if he remained at home. But the blood that flowed in his veins, the scaffold had mingled with that of his Sovereign, and both called loudly for revenge. His countrymen of La Vendée and Morbihan were in arms, and he would have been a despicable coward had he not joined them. He now not only hated the sanguinary republicans as regicides, but abhorred and determined to annihilate them as patricides, parricides, and fratricides. He was besides proscribed by them as a fanatic; that is, as a christian faithful to the religion of his forefathers, the sole and same crimes for which his parents and relations had perished. After the battle before Thours, on the 25th of September, 1793, where 5000 loyalists under Lescure defeated 20,000 republicans, George was made an officer. In civil wars, talents soon make their way, obtain rapid advancement, and at length silence even envy. While his valour and activity made him esteemed by his superiors, his intelligence and popular manners gained him the confidence and friendship of his inferiors. Having distinguished himself on all occasions during 1794 and 1795, he was, in 1796, with general approbation, promoted to the command of the division of Royalist-Chouans in Morbihan.

But.

But after treason had delivered Charette and Stofflet over to the republican executioners, George was obliged to disband his weakened army, and to wait for another opportunity to avenge his country, his king, and his family. This opportunity presented itself in 1799, when he assembled a greater number of troops than any other chief, and had almost daily engagements with the republicans, whom he often routed, and from whom he never experienced any loss that could be called a defeat. In December 1799 he commanded the expedition on the borders of the river Vilaine, where a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition had been debarked from England, which he carried away, though surrounded every where by enemies three times more numerous than his own men. Before the usurpation of Buonaparte, George was on the eve of being proclaimed a generalissimo, a place vacant since the death of Charette. According to the advice of the guilty intriguers Talleyrand and Fouché, the First Consul adopted with the royalists, a conduct different from that of the Directory. By hypocritical promises and liberal bribes, he divided and seduced men whom his revolutionary predecessors had been unable to conquer. He promised

sed royalty to some, places to others, and money to them all. Every royalist chief who signed a peace obtained 300,000 livres, or 12,500l. sterling. When, therefore, George, on the 25th and 26th of January, 1800, gloriously fought the republicans at Grandchamp and Delven, all other royalist chiefs, with the single exception of Frotté, had disbanded their troops and delivered up their arms. But observing the intrigues of the republican emissaries among his men, who, by their desertion, proved that they were not so incorruptible as their commanders, he deferred his vengeance without changing his loyalty. Having heard that General Brune intended, on the 9th of February, to reconnoitre the country, he advanced to the village of Theix, attended only by three royalists, one of whom he sent to announce to the General that he desired to speak with him. After a conference of an hour, in the open air, at the corner of a hedge, every thing was terminated. George agreed to dismiss his troops, and General Brune pledged himself, in the name of the Republican Government, "that they should not be punished for having been in arms; that they and their countrymen should be exempted from military conscriptions for ten years,

years, and indemnified for the losses which they had suffered from the devastation of their country by the republicans during the civil troubles." Neither of these conditions has been kept; all have been disregarded or violated. George became, therefore, the irreconcileable foe, not of Buonaparte, but of an usurper, who, by his tyrannical breach of faith, had caused his own to be suspected by his adherents, now suffering victims from the perfidy of the Consular Government.

After the pacification George went to Paris, and was presented to Buonaparte, who offered him a commission as a General of Division in the army of reserve then collecting near Dijon. He declined, however, this republican rank, as he formerly had refused republican money. As, with the First Consul, every man who refused to be his slave is regarded as a traitor, orders were issued for arresting George; who escaped death only by flight, and was convinced that his life would never be safe in his country as long as a foreigner was its tyrant. He determined, therefore, to dethrone a monster who employed the laws themselves to murder innocence; who had no claim to kingly supremacy in France, where nature had, by his birth-right, made George a

citizen; and who had done nothing to forfeit this right; whilst, in more moral times, the whole universe would, for his enormous crimes, have proscribed Buonaparte as an infamous outlaw, the opprobrium of humankind.

Buonaparte accuses George with an intent to assassinate him; but as long as no other evidence than the *dictum* of the First Consul is produced, justice and generosity demand of us not to condemn as an assassin, a man who was never suspected of any crime, upon the mere assertion of another man, whose atrocious guilt is known and proverbial in Europe and America, as well as in Asia and Africa, who has been undeniably a murderer and drowner in France and in Italy, and a convicted poisoner and murderer in Syria and in Egypt.

When the incalculable difficulties are considered that a royalist commander in France has to encounter, from want of union, of patriotism, of discipline, of arms, of clothing, of money, &c. and the dangers to which he is exposed, more from the treachery of weak or faithless friends, than from the bayonets of powerful enemies in possession of an authority, governing, or rather oppressing, fifteen-sixteenths of the inhabitants; every candid mind must

must acknowledge that to dare to oppose such means requires not only firmness of character, courage, capacity, and vigilance, but the noble sacrifice of one's self, which makes the country and the cause the first, and existence only a secondary object.

For his humanity and generosity, added to his abilities, George was become the most popular royalist chief in France; and how much he was dreaded by Buonaparte, the correspondence with the British Government, through Lord Whitworth, Otto, and Andreossey, will evince.

This feeble sketch is intended to make a British Public better acquainted with a man, so basely calumniated abroad, and so imperfectly known in England; whose sufferings from the Revolution are only surpassed by his constancy in supporting them, and by that magnanimity, with which, to serve his King, he resigned quiet and ease in this country, to face proscription and to meet death in France.* Had George existed in the ages of the crusades, he would have been revered

* The reward which every loyal man has to expect in these scandalous times of selfishness and baseness, George has obtained. He has bled on the same scaffold, among the same depraved people, in the same degraded city, where the Royal Martyr Louis XVI, eleven years before exchanged his tempo-

ral

revered as a saint; and had he been born in those of chivalry, crowned as a hero*!!!

* Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. George, et la Champagne des Chouans, en 1799 et 1800, par un Chouan, page 36 et 37.

THE VENDEAN AND CHOUAN WAR:

A SKETCH.

THE Vendean war has been traced to a variety of causes; but loyalty and religion may justly be considered as the chief. Distant from Paris, the focus of corruption, insurrection, and atheism,

ral for an eternal crown. As the last moments of a good, loyal, and religious man, are not only consoling to the virtuous, but may be edifying even to the wicked; and while encouraging persons labouring under unmerited misfortunes to support their misery, may inspire even fortunate criminals with repentance of their guilt; the following particulars of the conclusion of George's short but honourable career, cannot be misplaced in a work, having equally for its object, to publish the noble actions of dutiful subjects and faithful Christians, and to hold out to detestation the infamy of rebels, the atrocities of regicides, and the blasphemy of infidels. What the Author relates, he has from loyal friends, eye-witnesses of what they have reported.

"Both in the prison of *Bicetre* (which George has ennobled), and in the *Conciergerie*, Buonaparte offered this royalist general his pardon; but upon such terms, that neither his loyalty, his honour, nor his religion, could permit him to accept. The Corsican usurper not only wanted to make him a slave, but an informer. The only answer that he gave to the police director, the infamous Real, in consequence of these insulting offers, was, "France has been enough inundated with the blood of innocence; were I fond of a life, almost unsupportable when Buonaparte

ism, among the first classes of the inhabitants in La Vendée was found morality; and among the lower

naparte prospers and Louis XVIII. suffers, I would not prolong it, by mentioning the name of a single individual of my former loyal companions in arms; even were he from treachery or weakness become my denouncer, or from rivalry or envy my foe." George's death-warrant was, therefore, signed, and ordered to be executed on the 25th of June 1804. On his way to the place of execution, in passing the Chatelet, some persons exclaimed, "*Vive George!*" and others applauded him; but Buonaparte's police agents arrested them immediately. George bowed respectfully to several ladies on the *Quay*, who, from the windows of different houses, saluted him with their handkerchiefs, and with tears in their eyes, shewed that they felt for his destiny, and admired his loyalty and constancy. Upon the scaffold, he desired to address the people, (but like the unfortunate Louis XVI.) he was not permitted. Gen. Murat, the governor of Paris, who was present, demanded what he had to say? His answer was—"*that he desired it to be known to his countrymen contemporaries, and to posterity, that he died as he had lived, faithful to his God and to his King*; and, as a true Christian, forgave even his murderer, Buonaparte, whose repentance and conversion he sincerely prayed for, and that he might, in his last moments, meet death with equal tranquillity, consolation, and hope."

Buonaparte had ordered that George should be executed the last; but a rumour had reached his fellow-sufferers, that he would be pardoned on the scaffold. To set them an example how loyal men should die, he requested of Murat, as a favour, to be beheaded first. This was consented to. Before the executioner tied his hands, he embraced his confessor, and looking at his fellow-sufferers, with a countenance expressive of satisfaction, he said, "Courage, Comrades! What is the earthly throne of the usurper, to the heavenly blessings awaiting us!!!" Before laying down his head under the fatal axe, he

lifted

lower orders, a sincere belief in the faith of their forefathers. The Revolution insulted the sentiments of the former; and the constitutional decree of the National assembly, concerning the innovations in the statutes of the Roman Catholic Church, disturbed the timorous consciences of the latter, all the materials for an insurrection, therefore, were collected from the very beginning of the French rebellion; it was not, however, until the enacting of the impolitic and scandalous laws relative to the Clergy, and the arrest, imprisonment, trial, and murder of the King, that they burst into a flame.

The first chief of the Vendeans was a priest of the name of Catineau; who, having put himself at the head of the malcontents of Lower Poitou, seized upon Beaupreau on the 10th of May, 1793, and immediately displayed the standard of royalty from the steeple of that edifice, in which he had so lately officiated as a clergyman. But

lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and exclaimed loudly, "*Vive le Roi! vivant les Bourbons!!!*"

The scaffold had been placed nearly opposite the grocer's house, in *Place de Greve*, which became dreadfully notorious on the 14th of July, 1789, from the lamp-post at its corner, where the rebels of that period, under the command of the then king of faction, La Fayette, murdered so many dutiful and good subjects. Eleven other royalists perished with George, and met death with equal firmness, resignation, and devotion. Their last words were—"*Vive le Roi, Louis XVIII.!!!*"

the fortune of the war was not to be entrusted to hands consecrated to the chalice: he was, therefore, placed under the superintendance of Duhoun, d'Hauterive, and d'Elbée, who laboured to give a systematic direction to the efforts of an undisciplined multitude; and no sooner had the army of the royalists been organised, than Catineau voluntarily resigned the command to the Marquis de Beauchamp, a young nobleman of Angers, who had been an officer in the regiment of Aquitaine.

Armed only with pitch-forks, staves, and implements of husbandry, their success was at first astonishing. The ablest republican generals were routed, and the most numerous republican armies dispersed. In four months time, therefore, the royalists had 50,000 men armed with republican fusils and bayonets, and a complete park of artillery, composed of captured republican cannons. No longer content with petty expeditions, or predatory excursions during the night, the Catholic and Royal army, as it was now called, prepared for greater achievements; and after a signal victory on the 29th of May, actually took possession of Fontenay Le Peuple, the chief town in the department.

The National Convention, deceived by false

reports, treated them at first as a handful of brigands; but repeated intelligence of their progress soon altered that rash opinion. From the taking of Fontenay, the Vendean war began to exhibit a degree of consistency highly inauspicious to the stability of the Republic. A sovereign council, consisting of generals, priests, and civilians, assembled at Chatillon, and not only directed the operations of the army, but concentrated all authority within itself. Bernard de Marigny, nephew to the admiral of the same name, presided at this board; and Lescure, Stofflet, d'Elbée, Fleuriot, Beauchamp, and others, assisted with their presence, influence, and advice. By these, the ancient laws were substituted in the place of the new code; all acts of authority were proclaimed in the name of Louis XVII., and an assignat was not permitted to have currency, unless sanctioned by their signature.

Enthusiastic defenders of the altar and the throne, the royal soldiers encountered toils, difficulties, and death, with an heroic constancy. As disinterested and brave as they were pious and loyal, they were never anxious about money, but satisfied with the rations of provisions distributed among them. The exclusive establishment

tablishment of the Christian religion, and the plenary restoration of Royalty, were the avowed objects sought by them all. Unfortunately, however, the leaders differed about the means; and some of them, actuated by personal ambition, aspired to supreme command, to the entire exclusion of their colleagues. Talmont and d'Autichamp imagined that their birth entitled them to superiority; Charette piqued himself upon his military talents, and the number of his followers; but d'Elbée, who united the lustre of birth with acknowledged abilities, was elected generalissimo. In consequence of this difference among the chiefs, two distinct bodies of troops were now formed: the Catholic and Royal Army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, led by d'Elbée; and the Army of the Throne and the Altar, by some called the Army of Jesus, in Lower Poitou, under the direction of Charette. A consummate general, the former of these always fought in a manner conformable to the nature of the country and the genius of the people: the latter was brave, enterprising, active, and full of stratagems, but more ambitious, and less informed than his rival.

The first defeat which the royalists met with, was in their attack on Nantes, on the 29th of

June. The cause of this miscarriage originated partly in disputes among the leaders, and partly in the folly of permitting the peasantry to remain in great towns. The royalist peasants in Saumer found a Capua, but they soon took their revenge. The republican general, Biron, had been called from the army of Italy, to head the war against the insurgents of La Vendée. Seeking to signalize himself by rapid conquests, he surprized the *chateau* de Lescure, one of the royalist captains, at Parthenay; he then captured the town of Amaillon, which he permitted his troops to plunder, and reduced that and the *chateau* de Lescure to ashes. Westerman, the second in command under Biron, made similar ravages at Bressuire, and burnt the *chateau* of La Roche Jaquelin, another chief of the insurgents; promising to capture the towns of Chatillon and Chollet, and finally to exterminate the royalists. He succeeded indeed in taking Chatillon, but was surrounded by the royalists, his infantry cut to pieces, his artillery taken, and himself escaped with great difficulty, attended by his cavalry. The republican commanders now meditated a general attack on the royalists, entered La Vendée by the bridge of Cé, and encamped at Martigné Briand. Here they

they were attacked by 40,000 men, whom they at first repulsed, but who afterwards forced them to begin a retreat towards Montaigu. In this retreat they were constantly harassed by large parties; and, when fatigued with three days marches, on the 18th of July, attacked by 50,000 royalists, who routed and drove them in disorder across the country in every direction. So great was the panic, that even arms, knapsacks, and accoutrements, were thrown away, as impediments to speed. Some fled into almost all the neighbouring towns, and some even to Paris. Such had been the slaughter, or such was yet the terror, that when, three days after the engagement, the republican generals at Chinon attempted to make a muster, they could only find 4000 men, the wretched remnants of 62,000.

The affairs of the royalists were now in their highest state of prosperity: their chiefs issued a wise and moderate proclamation, in the name of Louis XVII.; many emigrants quitted the frontiers of Holland and Germany to join the defenders of the altar and the throne; and many more were waiting to join them at Jersey and Guernsey. Their partisans grew daily more numerous, and encouraged the most sanguine hopes of ultimate success. Thus, the insurrec-

tion in La Vendée began in its first year to assume the shape and consistency of a formidable rebellion. From May to August ten general actions, and more than sixty skirmishes, the death of 100,000 royalists, and even the plunder, burning, and devastation of the country, did not enable the regicide Convention to quell a sedition originating in the loyalty of the inhabitants, by whose hands upwards of 200,000 republicans had perished.

Unfortunately, the royalist chiefs, who, if at this glorious period united, might perhaps have decided the fate of France, were once more divided by their personal jealousies, and contended for superiority with a pertinacity little to be expected from noblemen, the thread of whose lives was in hourly danger of being cut, either by the sabre or the guillotine; and who after every unsuccessful battle, were hunted down like so many wild beasts. The Prince de Talmont, who possessed large estates on the right bank of the Loire, and had achieved some brilliant exploits, after crossing that river, still aspired to the supreme command, although d'Elbée had released him from a dungeon in Angers. Lescure, who was rescued by Stofflet from a similar confinement in the prison of Bressuire, and had

lately

lately displayed equal bravery and conduct on the 25th of September in the action before Thouars (where he had routed an army of veterans four times superior), was also a candidate for the same dangerous pre-eminence. Another appeared in Chevalier d'Autichamp, who from the beginning of the contest had urged the necessity of crossing the Loire, and either marching straight to Paris, or securing a sea-port, in order to keep up a communication with foreign powers. The fourth was Charette, originally a lieutenant of the King's navy, and famous in consequence of his successes against the republican general Beysser, as well as by the desperate valour, rather than the professional knowledge, displayed by him upon all occasions.

At this period the King of Prussia, having laid siege to Mentz, forced the Garrison to surrender; but by an impolitic capitulation, permitted the French troops to serve against the royalists in La Vendée: and it is to these very troops that the republicans are indebted for their principal advantages in that country. They turned the fortune of the day in the famous battle of the 16th of October. The republican general, Lechelle, originally a fencing-master at Saintes, and, but little acquainted with the military art,

disposed his troops in an injudicious position under the walls of Chollet, when d'Elbée, Beauchamp, Lescure, Stofflet, and several other royalist chiefs, at the head of 50,000 men, made a dreadful onset, and for two hours appeared to have gained the victory. The republicans, however, after mortally wounding d'Elbée, Beauchamp and Lescure, and routing their adversaries, remained masters of the field of battle. To the disappearance of these royalist chiefs, the defeat is in some measure to be attributed; but more to the steady valour of the troops from Mentz.

At this epoch, atrocious measures of barbarous severity, and such as neither justice nor policy can sanction, were recurred to by the regicide National Convention. Fire as well as the sword was now to be carried into the recesses of La Vendée. The royalists, honoured by the regicides with the appellation of banditti, were to be pursued to their most secret retreats. The villages, which afforded them occasional shelter, were doomed to be destroyed, the granaries to be burnt, the windmills and ovens to be thrown down, the cattle and crops to be seized: all suspected persons, *men*, *women*, or *children*, to be shot or guillotined, and the peaceable part of the inhabitants to be removed. That neither

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the principles nor tenderness of the representatives of the people, nor of the republican generals, prevented them from carrying into execution these execrable decrees of the Convention, the following may evince. General Turreau, on commencing an expedition against the Vendeans, addressed his soldiers as follows: "We are about to enter the country of the insurgents; *you are to burn every thing, and to bayonet* ALL *the inhabitants*. There may be, indeed, some few patriots among them; but, notwithstanding that, *the whole must be sacrificed*." The representative Francastle assisted the representative Carrier, in the massacre of priests and of Vendean women and children at Nantes. On one day he issued an order to bind 61 of the clergy of Nievre together; and on another, 1500 Vendean women and 1800 Vendean children, and saw them drowned in his presence, by means of vessels sunk for that purpose; and when the victims forced their hands through the rotten planks of these vessels and prayed for mercy, he ordered his assistants, the French republican officers and soldiers, to cut off their hands, and he was obeyed. In his directions to General Grignon, he says: "You must make the robbers tremble, and give them no quarter. Our prisons are

crowded—What! prisoners in La Vendée!—It is necessary to burn all the lone houses, the mills, and above all, the castles; *in short, to transform the whole country into a desert*—neither mildness nor clemency—such are the intentions of the Convention."—He forbade the revolutionary committees to take down the names of the victims that he sent to perish; they were particularly to leave out those of women and children, that their husbands or parents might in vain look for them for years, and add the torments of incertitude to their other sufferings. In the valley of St. Game, he ordered to be shot a corps of 1200 Vendeans who had capitulated to General Moulins *on the condition of having their lives saved.* The representative of the people, Carrier, if possible, surpassed in cruelty all his accomplices. He called the guillotine "*un jeu mesquin,*" where 25,000 heads were to be cut off *only.* He therefore invented, with another representative, Fouché*, what he called *the republican marriages*; that is to say, *men* and *women by hundreds were tied naked together, and thrown into the river Loire and drowned.* "He *amused* himself for hours in disposing of the proscribed

* This is the same regicide whose life, as Minister of Police, is given in the first volume. He is a Grand officer of Buonaparte's Legion of Honour.

proscribed Vendeans," as he wrote, "*in a manner the most laughable.* Boys of twelve were tied with women of seventy, and girls of eleven with old men of eighty, &c." At the jacobin society at Nantes he said, "People, take your clubs, and crush the rich! take your swords, and exterminate the merchants! you are in rags; and affluence is by your side, and by the side of the river!! But if the people want energy, I swear that heads shall never cease to tumble on the national scaffold! were I even to make of all France a church-yard, I must *regenerate* her in my own manner." Prudhomme, in his history of Crimes, Vial, in his history of La Vendée, and many other French republican authors, have mentioned these and other abominations. Bressuire, Floutiere, La Chatelgueraye, Pouzanges, Bon-Pere, Meilleray, and one hundred other communes, were burnt to ashes, and the inhabitants of both sexes and of every age cut to pieces. In a work* printed in London, and written by a general who commanded the republican troops in La Vendée, is the following remark: "In October 1793, after the decrees of the National Convention, the whole of La Vendée was burnt; even the patriotic communes

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* See Les Brigands Demasqués, par Danican, a well-written and loyal work, page 81 and 82, *note*.

were not spared. Each republican column carried before it fire and sword, with which were destroyed all, without distinction of age or sex. An immense population, that fled before the republicans to escape the flames, joined the Catholic army in the passage of the Loire at St. Florent, and was surrounded. Imagine you! people of feelings! upwards of 100,000 Frenchmen, women, old men and children, seeing burning sixty miles round, their cottages and their houses, and having only some few moments to escape a certain death! Well, what our generals and our *august* representatives never have the honesty to acknowledge, is a fact, that the Vendeans, about to leave their devastated country for ever, gave liberty and life to 5 or 6000 republican soldiers, prisoners during four months in the Abbey St. Florent. It was to the humanity of the royalist general Beauchamp, who died the next day of his wounds, and to the solicitations of his wife, that the republicans are indebted for their preservation. What is singular, every body with me knows this as well as myself; but nobody has the courage to publish this trait of humanity, which is sublime."

"If," continues the same author, "the Catholic Army had any design to make reprisals,

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it might have set fire to the country from Varades to Granville. It might have burnt Laval, where it remained eleven days, undisturbed by the republicans." Who dares be impudent enough to deny these facts?—This frank avowal of a republican general evinces, that courage, generosity, humanity, and loyalty, were united in the royalists' councils as well as in their camps; while temerity, ferocity, and wickedness, dictated the decrees of the republican rulers, and the transactions of the republican armies.

These horrors commanded by the National Convention, instead of terminating the insurrection of La Vendée, extended it to the neighbouring provinces. After the army under Prince Talmont and d'Autichamp passed the Loire, loyal men every where flocked to the standard of royalty, and increased their number to 80,000 men; but they were in want of arms, ammunition, and provisions. That they might obtain succours from England, Prince Talmont pushed forwards to gain a position on the coast; in prosecution of which plan he captured Mayence, and afterwards Dol, with an intention to proceed to St. Malo. While waiting the expected supplies, the royalists made an unsuccessful attack on Granville; but being threatened on

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all sides by the republicans, and in danger of being surrounded, while they obtained no intelligence of the expected aids, they again decamped for the interior, hoping to find relief, and a rallying point, from which they might issue under more favourable auspices. Their disappointment was not occasioned by any neglect of the British Ministry; on the contrary, every exertion was made to afford them succour; and the valiant Earl of Moira, amply provided to supply their wants, arrived on the coast eight days after their departure. He repeated his signals, and renewed all efforts in vain, and was, after near a month's expectation of their joining him, obliged to return to the British coasts*.

Meanwhile, the royalists pressed by necessities, and suffering hardships of every description, consumed their forces in attacking great towns. They were repulsed with loss at Angers, but succeeded at La Fleche, which they took by surprize. At Mons, however, their approach was anticipated: there the republicans defeated and put to hopeless and irreparable rout their whole army; no quarter was given; and the massacre was computed at 18,000 men, 5000 women, and 7000 children.

* See Lord Moira's Narrative of the transaction, and the debates of the British House of Lords, 14th of February, 1794.

children. A remnant of the discomfited army endeavoured to regain the friendly territory of La Vendée; but they were pursued by the republicans under Kleber and Westerman, and, after a conflict of two days, again defeated with similar slaughter at Savenay.

At an early period in the year 1794, Charette was expelled from the Isle of Noirmoutier, situated in the mouth of the Loire. In the mean time the royalist general, La Roche Jaquelin, Stofflet, and Bernard de Marigna, traversed the insurgent districts, and endeavoured to collect and re-organize the fugitives. They only waited the return of spring, and the arrival of the ammunition and warlike stores expected from England, to attack the republican posts now established in the centre of La Vendée *en masse* as before; while they employed themselves during winter in a petty warfare against convoys, escorts, and patroles.

The wreck of the Grand Catholic and Royal Army was now divided into three circles, in consequence of the death of d'Elbée, and commanded by Stofflet, La Roche Jaquelin, and Bernard de Marigni; while Charette, on whom thirty successive defeats had hitherto made but little impression, still maintained the honour of his

his name, and roamed amid the woods at the head of a body of brave and faithful followers.

During the spring of 1794, several engagements took place between the contending armies, with various success, though the republicans, on account of their number, were mostly victorious. Charette, as usual, avoided a general engagement, and often eluded the efforts of the barbarous republican General Turreau. At length, being pursued and pressed on every side, he was overtaken on the 26th of April, 1794, and defeated a body of republicans commanded by General Haxo, who on that day lost his life. On the other hand, Stofflet, after having twice overcome General Grignon, was twice beaten by the latter; while Charette, whether victorious or vanquished, still nobly cherishing the same inveterate hatred to the republicans, was foiled at Chalons, and retired again with his usual good fortune, into the strong woody country denominated the Bocage; and the republican General Dusirat was, about the same time, worsted by Stofflet and Marigni near Mont-Glone. Thus, notwithstanding La-Vendée was attacked on all sides, the flame of insurrection still remained unquenched, and the combustibles of civil war, being thus condensed into

into a focus, blazed out from time to time, as if to demonstrate that persecution, injustice, and cruelty, are unable to overcome the sentiments of loyalty and religion. Although a girdle of fire seemed now to consume the insurgent districts, although the Vendeans were at this moment confined within a desolate circle, where they perished by a series of the most cruel evils that ever afflicted humanity; the murderous steel of the regicide republicans, an epidemical disease assuming the appearance of leprosy, and a penury of subsistence that might be well termed famine; yet with minds still unsubdued, and arms unenervated by this combination of calamities, they still breathed unceasing vengeance against their assassins and the assassins of their King; and were ready to start even from the bed of sickness to encounter a certain death, at the call of honour and duty.

After the death of Robespierre, the National Convention sent deputies to conciliate the Vendeans; those brave men, unconquered by the arms of the republicans, were deluded into a fatal pacification on the 24th of April, 1795; and republican treachery affected what republican scaffolds and bayonets had attempted in vain. The bad faith of republican negociators, is evi-

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dent from Charette's proclamation on the 26th of June following, when he was again forced to resort to arms. In this he asserted, and his assertion was never refuted, "That the Deputies of the Convention had inveigled the Vendeans into a negociation for peace, on the express condition, THAT LOUIS XVII. SHOULD BE SEATED ON THE THRONE OF HIS ANCESTORS." He added, what is well known, "That to avoid keeping their promises, the ill-fated son of their unfortunate Monarch had been poisoned in a base and cowardly manner, by that impious and barbarous sect, which far from being destroyed, still desolated the unfortunate kingdom."

By the late pacification the power and authority of the royalist chiefs had been shaken; and their followers were neither so numerous, nor so enthusiastic as before. They could, therefore, no longer collect and retain large armies, make inroads into distant districts, or fight pitched battles as before. While on the other hand, the republican General Hoche, with a numerous force, and backed by corruption, was able to carry all his treacherous schemes into execution; and the first Vendean insurrection was at length drawing to a close. In February 1796, Stofflet, betrayed into the hands of the

republicans was murdered by them; and in the next month Charette shared the same fate. On the fall of their chiefs, the insurgent departments were obliged to submit to the iron rod of republican tyranny. They were quieted, but suffering; disarmed, but calling for vengeance; oppressed, but ready to fall upon their oppressors.

When, in 1799, the war was renewed on the Continent, and the republican armies were routed in Italy as well as in Germany, the cordon of republican troops which had always continued in the Western Departments, was removed; and the inhabitants again flew to arms. Their former chiefs, d'Elbée, Talmont, Lescure, Beauchamp, La Roche Jaquelin, Charette, and Stofflet, had all perished, either in combating their rebellious countrymen, or by their poison, or the guillotine. D'Autichamp, George, and Sapineau, were the only now remaining popular leaders, but particularly George, whose valour, honour, disinterestedness, and talents, made him a worthy successor of d'Elbée. To them were soon joined other distinguished military characters; as Frotté, Bourmont, Chatillon, and Laprevallaye, who each commanded a different corps of insurgents, better known since 1795

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by the appellation of Chouans, than of Vendeans or Royalists.

The origin of the name of Chouan is not certainly known, though most pretend that it came from three brothers, Louis, Joseph, and Francis Chouan, who, some say, armed in defence of monarchy and religion; whilst others pretend, that they at first headed only a gang of smugglers. The first body of Chouan troops heard of, were those assembled in the winter of 1794 between Laval and La Gravelle. In the beginning they were not very numerous, and therefore seldom left the forests of Pertre and Guerche. Being reinforced by the disaffected from the departments of Calvados, of La Manche, of Brittany, and by the remnants of Prince Talmont's army after the unfortunate battles of Chollet and Savenay, they declared themselves armed in the cause of Louis XVIII.; assumed more consistency, and extended their forces, though continuing the same sort of petty warfare, by cutting off detachments of republican troops, surprizing their camps, capturing their convoys, and laying under contribution republican treasuries wherever they could get at them; by stopping the mails, as well as by plundering the republican receivers or other public functionaries.

aries. The successive dispersion of the royalist armies procured them a number of brave men; particularly what they stood most in need of, able chiefs; who, from principle attached to royalty, gave them more lustre than before. Among these was Count de Puisaye, formerly an aid-de-camp to General Wimpfen, and who possessed some influence with them. After that disastrous affair, the expedition to Quiberon, the Chouans signed a peace with the Directory. Some of them, however, continued separately to attack, in small corps, the republicans, to waylay them, and to plunder their diligences, &c. which conducted many of them to the scaffold. In 1799, they rose to more notoriety and power than before, chiefly owing to the vigorous and wise councils of George, and the other leaders. According to the reports of the republican generals, they then occupied almost the whole province of Normandy, of La Main, Anjou, a great part of Brittany and of La Tourain, and extended themselves to several neighbouring provinces. They were, however, far from occupying these countries in a stable manner. Each chief had a district where he recruited, and where he commanded those who joined him. This was called his government, though it was covered with republican

publican troops, and often the majority of the inhabitants were against him. Dispersed about the country concealed, and therefore often invisible, they attacked small parties of republicans, but disappeared before any considerable corps. It was not until the revolution effected by Buonaparte in November 1799, and which caused a momentary stagnation in the Government, that they began to have fixed head-quarters, and regularly to combat the republican battalions. They were then said to amount to upwards of 100,000 men; but their numbers were certainly exaggerated. The suspension of arms which they soon afterwards concluded with the republican commander, General Hedouville, gave them yet more consistency. After several conferences, Buonaparte judged that they only intended to gain time by their negociations, and therefore ordered 50,000 fresh troops, under the command of General Brune, to march against them, and to attack them before the end of January 1800.

On his arrival in Brittany, Brune learned that all the insurgent departments on the left of the river Loire had laid down their arms, in pursuance of a treaty of peace signed at Montfaucon. This event enabling him to concentrate his operations,

rations, he began by publishing insidious proclamations to the people, and by sending emissaries among the Chouan troops, who either bribed or intimidated them to desertion. A few smart, though not important skirmishes, enabled him to subdue, in less than a month, all that appeared formidable in the insurrection, and reduced the Chouans to nothing more than a small set of detached bodies. To this, for Buonaparte, fortunate event, the want of concert among some of the chiefs greatly contributed; and it was forwarded in no inconsiderable degree by his prudent, though hypocritical, order for restoring the churches to the communes, for the purpose of performing divine service, and for celebrating a pompous funeral ceremony in honour of the Pope, Pius VI. who had been deposed, harassed, and in effect, murdered, in consequence of a treason planned, if not executed, by his *worthy* brother Joseph Buonaparte. Deserted by their followers, the different chiefs concluded a peace with the republic, and disbanded their troops. George was the last who took this step, but not till he was left with hardly any troops to command.

Such are some of the particulars of the Vendean and Chouan war, which loyalty began, and the treason of the republicans, and not their military

litary exploits, finished. The new disturbances in the Western Departments during the winter of 1803 evince, that if the revolutionary agents are yet rapacious and cruel, and continue their oppression and extortion, the spirit of the inhabitants is unbroken; and that it requires but little to re-kindle the civil war, notwithstanding the organized military tyranny of Buonaparte.

GENERAL ALEX. BERTHIER,

BUONAPARTE'S MINISTER OF WAR.

FEW of those rebels, who, in 1789, erected the standard of revolt, and belonged to the factions of Orleans, of Mirabeau, or of La Fayette, have survived their offspring, the French Revolution; or, if alive, occupy any places of consequence, possess the consideration of their fellow-citizens, or the confidence of an usurper, whom their absurd plans for an impracticable liberty, dangerous plots for an imaginary equality, and real crimes in favour of a destructive anarchy, have dragged from a well-merited obscurity, elevated into unlimited power, and made a tyrant over France under the specious appellation of a First Consul of the French Republic. Alexander Berthier and Talleyrand de Perigord are the only exceptions. The former, as well as the latter, is Buonaparte's confidential minister, trusty counsellor, and devoted friend, if a slave can be called the friend of his master.

Born a gentleman, and destined from his youth for a military career, Berthier received that brilliant education which fortune, guided by judgment, can bestow, and early made a progress which announced genius, seconded and improved by diligence and assiduity. His father was Governor of the Hotel of the War Office, an important and profitable place under the monarchy. By the favour of Louis XVI. he was, at the age of eighteen, made joint Governor with his parent, and soon after placed on the staff of the army sent by an ill-advised French King to assist in America the revolted subjects of another King; and whose example was soon after imitated by his own subjects, with effects most fatal to himself, to his family, to his country, and to the universe.

It was in America that Berthier formed his political connexions with La Fayette, with Rochambeau, with the La Meths, and with other men, who, in the annals of the first three years of the French Revolution, are noted for their disloyalty as subjects, ingratitude as courtiers, fanaticism as demagogues, and sophistry as politicians; whose anti-social and innovating doctrine has done, and must do mankind more harm than *their progeny*, the guillotine of Robespierre, the fusillades of the Directory, and the bayonets

or poison of Buonaparte. He served there in the army under the elder Rochambeau with such distinction, that he returned to Europe with the rank of a Colonel, and was made a Knight of the Orders of St. Louis and Cincinnatus.

At the beginning of the Revolution, he embraced with ardour the principles of the democratical party; but conducted himself, notwithstanding, with greater moderation than any of his associates. When d'Estaing was chosen the commander of the National Guard at Versailles, Berthier was appointed his major-general, and, as such, opposed the motions of some incendiaries among his men, who, on the 3d of October 1789, proposed to force the King's Body Guard to exchange their white cockades of loyalty for the tri-coloured ones of rebellion. On the 9th of September, 1790, he presented himself at the head of a deputation of the same national guard, at the bar of the National Assembly, and demanded, "that in remembrance of the late *patriotic* occurrences at Nancy in Lorraine, a *simple* but *majestic* pyramid should be erected at one of the gates of that city, with this inscription: "Many citizens soldiers, and soldiers citizens, perished here for their country in the second month of the second year of French Liberty."

Disgusted with the repeated insurrections, continual cabals, and want of subordination among the citizen soldiers of the national guard at Versailles, he resigned his place in June 1791, and was succeeded in his command by Le Cointre, a bankrupt linen-draper, and, of course, a flaming patriot. In December of the same year, his friend, Louis de Narbonne, then a minister of the war department, nominated him adjutant-general, and charged him to carry to Metz, and present on the part of the King, the Field Marshal Staffs to the Generals Luckner and Rochambeau. In 1792, when the Brissot faction, as the only means to prevent or retard the punishment due to their treachery and conspiracy, determined upon an universal war, and forced the unfortunate Louis XVI. to attack the House of Austria, Berthier obtained the place of a chief over the staff, in the army collecting under Luckner; but from the intrigues of contending factions, and from the various changes of plans of campaigns, of ministers, and of generals, he had neither opportunity, nor, perhaps, inclination, to exhibit those talents which have since procured him so much admiration, and to which Buonaparte is principally indebted for all his brilliant successes in Italy during 1796, 1797, and 1800.

1800. He was besides firmly attached to La Fayette, and an enemy of Dumourier and other ambitious persons, who, at that period, plotted to supplant his friend both in popularity and command, even at the expence of monarchy and of sacrificing their prince. And when, after the 10th of August, La Fayette in a cowardly manner deserted his army, and left a country which his rebellion, vanity, and ignorance, had made wretched, Berthier intended to join him; but was prevented by the vigilance of the spies who surrounded him, and by the account of the well-deserved reception that La Fayette had met with from Austria and Prussia.

After the insurrection, in 1793, of the loyal inhabitants of La Vendée, in arms to revenge the murder of their King, to defend their altars, and to re-establish the throne, Berthier was sent thither to serve under Santerre and other sans-culotte generals, as cruel as incapable. All well-informed officers formerly in the King's service were then regarded as enemies of the Republic; and it was as dangerous for them to owe to their abilities and courage any advantages, as to suffer a repulse from not daring to employ them. Berthier has more than once acknowledged, that he now tried to find a death in the

field which he believed awaited him on the scaffold, and therefore on many occasions fought as a desperate adventurer who had a character to gain, rather than as a general who had a reputation to lose. At the taking of Saumur he had three horses killed under him; and in every action during this murderous campaign, he had aids-de-camp shot by his side, horses under him, and his clothes pierced with bullets; but he was never once wounded. The decree which proscribed, as suspected, all noblemen and gentlemen and their relatives, deprived him of his military rank, and forced him to exchange the bustle of camps for the melancholy indolence of a prison. Though his name was upon the fatal list of victims for the guillotine, the death of Robespierre, and his own prudence and moderation, saved him from an exit, which Custine, Houchard, Dillon, Westerman, Beauharnois, Biron, and so many other generals, made.

His release from confinement, which soon followed the interruption of the reign of terror, was accompanied by an offer from the committee of Public Safety, of employment again in the armies of the Republic. Fatigue, ill-treatment, and anxiety of mind, however, having impaired a constitution strong by nature, he declined all service,

service, until the ill successes of the campaign of 1795 in Germany made him think it his duty to try to repair the losses of his country, and to prevent those laurels from withering, which Pichegru with so much labour and honour had conquered and preserved. He accepted therefore, in 1796, the command as Chief of the Staff in the army of Italy, headed by Buonaparte, who, when Berthier four years before occupied the same station in the army under Field Marshal Luckner, was only a sub-lieutenant of artillery. It was the first step of Buonaparte's fortune, in advancing the grandeur of her ill-chosen favourite, to procure him the benefit of the long experience and superior talents of a general less ambitious than himself, and satisfied with the second rank while he had a right to claim the first.

The justice which in this sketch has already been done to Berthier, considered both as a general and as a citizen, requires that before he is farther delineated, some outlines should be exhibited of a character so totally different, since connected, or rather subjected to the artificial and ferocious Buonaparte.

With capacity to plan the most extensive or intricate campaign—to execute with vigour and

judgment the plans of others—to command the most numerous armies—to direct with order and regularity their civil and economical as well as military department and details, Berthier possesses a weak and contracted mind, guided or imposed upon by the bombast or consequential airs of any impertinent or audacious upstart, whose sentiments he espouses, whose vices he imitates, and whose crimes he executes with the same deference, as if it belonged to military subordination to obey the commands of a superior, even to the extent of infamy or villany, plunder or murder. The moment he finds any one to put above himself, he instantly forgets his dignity, his duty as a man, his rank in society, and sacrifices to the idol of his imagination his own superior understanding, renounces all honourable notions, and lays aside all humanity, all generosity. He becomes rapacious, though despising wealth; and cruel, with a heart tender, or at least not unfeeling. An instrument more useful, but at the same time more dangerous, never was placed in the power of a tyrant, and at the disposal of an usurper. To this incomprehensible and contradictory pliableness of character, with ability, may, without exaggeration, be attributed the brilliant advantages obtained

obtained by Buonaparte during the campaign of 1796, when he was unacquainted with the *ensemble* of the rapid but difficult movements of an army, combating in a mountainous country, or in places interspersed with numerous rivers; and therefore he was under the necessity of trusting entirely to the advice and councils of Berthier, who, not satisfied with regulating the important transactions and proceedings of the Staff, often exposed himself bravely in the most destructive attacks, as a General heading his division. On the 12th of May, 1796, after 4000 grenadiers had been completely swept away by the grape shot of the Austrians, on the bridge of Lodi, Berthier encouraged the Generals Massena, Cervoni, and d'Allemagne, to start with him from the ranks, and to invite the troops to renew the attack: by his example he set them instantly in motion, seized upon the artillery that had so lately spread death, terror, and destruction among them, and stopped their progress. At the action of Rivoli, on the 14th of January, 1797, the courage and presence of mind of this General changed the fortune of the day: in the most critical moment, Berthier, making a charge with the cavalry, obliged an enemy who thought

himself victorious to retreat with precipitation to the heights of Cortona.

On all occasions he shewed the same activity, the same powers, and was therefore called by the soldiers the right hand of Buonaparte. It is, however, not to be omitted, that these same soldiers accused him of sharing with Buonaparte the extortions and pillage of vanquished foes, and of partaking his commander's *secrets* in ordering those men who had been wounded in vanquishing them, *to be strangled in the hospitals—drowned in the rivers—poisoned in their tents, or buried alive in pits covered with lime!!!*— What success, what exploits can even palliate such hitherto unheard of enormities!

When Buonaparte, after the treaty of Campo Formio, resigned his command in Italy, Berthier was nominated his successor. Joseph Buonaparte was at that period the French republican emissary at Rome, and by his plots prepared there a revolution which was to procure the French troops the so long and ardently desired pretext to lay waste another friendly country. The French General Duphot, destined to command the rebels in the papal dominions, was killed by mistake in an unsuccessful insurrection, provoked by the

Jacobins

Jacobins in the pay of France, and protected by France: orders were immediately issued by the French Government for General Berthier to revolutionize Rome, and give up the country to pillage; and though his friends have attempted to excuse his conduct on this occasion, as subjected to, and the consequence of his instructions from, General Buonaparte and the Directory, it is, and will ever remain inexcusable.

A few days before his arrival with the French army, the Pope deputed Prince Belmonte, the Neapolitan minister, to learn from him his precise instructions; and with a duplicity worthy of the Buonapartes themselves, he seized this opportunity to make his conquest more easy and profitable. The *only* design of the Directory, he said, was to apprehend those who were accessary to the death of Duphot—*the Pope might rest assured of the utmost security; the existing government, the Catholic religion, and all property, public as well as private, should be respected, and he would not even enter the city.* To impress greater confidence, he delivered these declarations in writing, requiring at the same time that the Pope should issue an edict to tranquillize the people and prevent bloodshed: he repeated, *that nothing should be removed from*

the museums, the libraries, or the picture galleries.

The commands of Berthier were observed with punctuality; but his promises were violated without scruple. His Holiness removed no part of his property, nor took any measure for his personal safety; but published an edict, exhorting all his people to tranquillity, and forbidding them even to talk on their affairs in such a manner as to give offence to the French. Berthier in the mean time advanced to Rome by forced marches, summoned the castle of St. Angelo on the 10th of February, 1796, allowing only four hours for its evacuation by the Papal troops: *the convicts were set at liberty*; the gates of the city secured by the French; and Pius VI., all the Cardinals, and the whole people of Rome, made prisoners at discretion.

On the 15th following, this republican General made his triumphal entry into Rome; and, a tree of liberty being planted on the capitol, he pronounced a puerile address to the shades of the Catos, the Pompeys, the Ciceros, and the Hortensii: "The descendants of the Gauls," said he, "have come *with the olive of peace, to rebuild* the altars of liberty erected by the first Brutus. And you, people of Rome! who have

now

now recovered your ancient rights, recollect that blood which flows in your veins; survey all these monuments of glory by which you are surrounded, resume your pristine greatness, and emulate the virtues of your ancestors." As the means of acquiring these honourable distinctions, they were to be indulged with a modern Gallic reform: a proclamation was issued, declaring them *a free* and *independent republic*, under *the special protection* of the French army. The authority emanating from the Pope was suppressed, and a provisional government, as established by the sovereign people, was acknowledged.

The people, however, were so little elevated by the promises of regeneration and glory, that even Berthier's procession to the capital was languidly attended, and few appearances of approbation or applause were exhibited. None shouted but some desperate and criminal jacobins, bribed to the French interest. The tree of liberty, far from being regarded with rapture, was scarcely observed with moderate curiosity. But Berthier and his followers cared little about popularity: as with all other French republicans, when their interest or some end which they had in view, did not lead them to wish for it, the good opinion of the present age was no more desirable than the favour-

able

able judgment of posterity, which in all their acts they seemed almost expressly to renounce.

The refinement in the art of deliberate barbarity and cruelty, which attended the deposition and subsequent treatment of a virtuous Pontiff in the eighty-second year of his age, was rendered excessive by every species of wanton and unnecessary insult. The anniversary of his accession to the sovereignty was studiously selected for announcing to him the termination of his authority. Instead of his tiara, General Cervoni, a Sardinian deserter, offered him a national cockade, and republican soldiers replaced his Swiss guard. A prisoner in his own palace, which Berthier had erected into barracks, he saw seals of confiscation put on all his effects, not excepting even the furniture of his apartments. The property of his subjects was no more spared than his own: they were pillaged by demands of loans, of presents, and of requisitions. The Vatican and Quirinal palaces were stripped of all their most costly and valuable articles, of the most beautiful paintings, and incomparable tapestry; nothing escaped the rapacity of the republicans, from the most precious furniture of the state chambers to the most trifling utensil in the kitchen. All other palaces, churches, chapels, convents, and villas, underwent.

went the same fate. Berthier also permitted the new government to tax the possessors of money with an unlimited authority. The acts of extortion were finally practised to such a shocking excess, that not only gold and silver, but even copper was exhausted and exported.

This republican commander and his fellow-citizens shewed, in all their proceedings, an unprincipled eagerness for plunder. On the 23d of February a grand funeral was celebrated in honour of General Duphot; and while the people crowded the piazza of St. Peter, which was chosen for the scene, parties of Frenchmen plundered every church in the city of its plate, not even excepting those belonging to the chapels of Spain and the Emperor, then at peace with France. As some compensation to the people for the loss of liberty, religion, and property, Berthier conferred upon them a federation, a constitution, and a jacobin club. The first was a mixture of ostentation, profaneness and pedantry; the constitution, a mere repetition of the absurd, anarchical and inefficient code of France; and the club shewed a rapid proficiency in the principles of its great parent at Paris.

These were the last *patriotic* transactions of General Berthier at Rome, he being recalled to attend

Buonaparte

Buonaparte in the meditated expedition to Egypt. What he had done, or permitted to be done, during his recent command, created the greatest surprize and indignation among all persons in France who formerly had known and esteemed him. In a few weeks he had surpassed the outrages of years, of the most voracious of republican marauders, of the most atrocious of regicides, and of the most abominable of atheists. The apology of his friends was, "*That he left Rome no richer than he entered that city*;" and that all the horrors there were the consequences of the superiority which General Cervoni, and the Commissary Haller had assumed over his feebleness and inconsideration, and the opinion he had that those two guilty men possessed the entire confidence, both of Buonaparte and the Directory." But even supposing this to be the case, the man in power, who lends his name or authority to distress, rob, and murder, is certainly more culpable and more contemptible than the persons who advise or commit those nefarious deeds, and therefore deservedly bears all the blame, as he has all the curses of suffering victims, as well as the detestation of the good and just.

Unfortunately for the reputation of General Berthier, however, these are not the last crimes with

with which loyalty, humanity, and religion have to reproach him. In Syria and at Jaffa he *enforced* Buonaparte's orders to murder the Turkish prisoners; he *negociated* the poisoning of his wounded countrymen; at his return to Cairo, he *defended* in the National Institute the ferocity and guilt of his savage chief; and afterwards, to crown the whole, and deceive future ages, as he had tormented the present, in a work, pretending "*to describe the campaigns in Egypt and Syria*," he, by the most wilful misrepresentations, extenuates the wickedness and villany of Buonaparte, violates truth, calumniates innocence, and, by falsehood and sophistry, holds out tyranny and oppression, apostacy and piracy, treachery and desertion, to an unpardonable and impious admiration.

As a trusty servant he was *the first chosen* to wait upon his master Buonaparte, during his dastardly flight from Egypt; he accompanied this General to St. Cloud, when he *trembling* usurped the republican throne of his benefactors, the *trembling* directorial usurpers, and received in return the ministerial port-folio of the war department, which was soon afterwards resigned to Carnot, for the command over the army of reserve. He headed this army at the battle of

Marengo,

Marengo, and had been defeated, when Desaix sacrificed himself, and by his death made Buonaparte *immortal* and France victorious.

Buonaparte not finding in Carnot the same implicit submission, tacit obedience, and pliant temper as in Berthier, dismissed the former in the autumn of 1800, and restored to the latter his place in the ministry, which he yet occupies, though at the breaking out of hostilities with England, a deficit of 60,000 men was discovered in the army, which caused a momentary disgrace.

In the *Nouvelles à la Main** it is said, that this (under a military government) important place is trusted by Berthier to his secretary Archambaud, who trusts to his clerk, Bernard, who is governed by his mistress, Madame Lautiere; who gives to lovers, or sells to intriguers, rank, promotions, and appointments due to merit and service; the author, infers, therefore, that not Berthier, but Madame Lautiere, is the war minister of the French Republic.

From what has been shewn of Berthier's character, it cannot be called a hazardous, but an impartial conclusion, to say, that had he served under a Henry IV. he would have been *loyal*; under a Gustavus Adolphus, *religious*; under

* Les Nouvelles á la Main, Fructidor an xi. No. vii. page 9.

der a Condé, *generous*; under a Turenne, *humane*; under a Charles XII., *temerarious*; under a Marlborough, *avaricious*; under a Eugene, *vindictive*; under a Frederick the Great, *an atheist*; under a Mareschal dé Saxe, *a libertine*; under Dumourier, *an intriguer*; under Pichegru, *modest*; under Moreau, *ambitious*, but *amiable* and *insinuating*. He would have *butchered* under Marius; *proscribed* under Sylla; *fled* under Pompey, and *pardoned* under Cæsar*.

GENERAL

* In writing this sketch the Author has consulted Les Actes des Apotres of 1790 et 1791; L'Ami du Roi of 1790, 1791, et 1792; Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. Berthier. Vial's History of La Vendée; Duppa's Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government; History of the Campaign in 1796. Histoire du Directoire Executif, and Berthier's Relation des Campagnes du General Buonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie.

GENERAL ABDALLAH MENOU,

BUONAPARTE'S GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN PIEDMONT.

Eternal smiles his emptiness betray,
As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.

By the manner in which the Freemasons' lodges have been conducted in France and Germany, they have produced many recruits to the French Revolution, and many admirers of its anti-social and destructive principles. Of the French lodges, the late Duke of Orleans was a Grand Master, and Abdallah Menou, *ci-devant* Jacques Bon. Baron de Menou, one of their most fanatic members. In them were laid those plots for subversion and anarchy, which brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold, changed free subjects into republican slaves, and seated a tyrannical First Consul upon the throne of the most patriotic of Kings. In them Mirabeau, Sieyes, Menou, and others, laid the foundation for that Orleans faction which paved the way for succeeding factions,

tions, the Consular, as well as all others, and murdered its chief, after having dishonoured, plundered, and deserted him.

By the money and intrigues of the emissaries of the Duke of Orleans, Menou was, in 1780, chosen a member to the States General, for the nobility of the bailiwick of *Touraine*; and he rushed into the Revolution with an ardour which would have been taken for patriotism, had he concealed his hatred to the court, and his connexion with its enemies. He was one of the first members of the nobility who betrayed the trust of his electors, by sacrificing their privileges, and joining the Commons, or *Tiers Etat*. After the appellation of States General was laid aside for that of a National Assembly, and the club of the Bretons was incorporated with that of the Jacobins, Menou figured in their different committees, principally in the Jacobin Committee of *Correspondence* and of *Propaganda*, where he used a seal with this motto: *Ennemi des Cultes et des Rois**, or enemy of the worship and of Kings.

Though neither by nature nor by education destined for an orator, he often ascended the tribune of the Assembly. On the 12th of November, 1789, he there violently attacked the Parliament

* See Dictionnaire Biographique, page 7, tom. iii.

ment of Rouen; and on the 19th of the same month pronounced a speech on the organization of a *national* army; and, to form *citizen soldiers* and *soldier citizens*, he proposed "to settle a *military conscription*, in which the names of all male children should be registered, and they themselves obliged to serve their country as soldiers, for a certain number of years." By adopting and improving this idea, the National Convention, the Directory, and the Consular Government, have been enabled to bring into the field those numerous armies which, while tyrannizing France, oppress and enslave most other continental states. In January 1790, he was a member of the Committee of Pensions, and assisted in the publication of the *Livre Rouge*, containing some truths and many falsehoods; but which had the desired effect, that of making the court odious. Elected in March president of the National Assembly, he proved himself one of the ungenerous persecutors and calumniators of the clergy, and was therefore nominated one of the commissaries directing the disposal or sale of the property of that order. In April he declaimed, with great indecency, against a deputation of the Parliament of Bourdeaux; and on the 25th of June made a motion, to suppress

all

all orders of knighthood, and to create, in their place, *one single national order*. In August he became a member of the Diplomatic Committee, which, notwithstanding his incapacity, emboldened him to pretend to the place of an ambassador. But when Count de Montmorin, the King's Minister for the Foreign Department, refused him the appointment, he, in a speech of two hours, attacked this minister, whom he accused of *ignorance* and *aristocracy*, and insisted upon his dismission. This sortie, however, had not the desired effect, because the orator, whose *disinterestedness* and *impartiality* were known, was often interrupted by the hisses of one part of the National Assembly, and by the laughter of the other part. When in 1791, the King's aunts went to Italy, provided with regular passes, they were stopped on the frontiers, and not permitted to continue their journey, until the determination of the National Assembly was known. Menou, on this occasion, in a speech of considerable length, used such vulgar, blunt, and coarse language, that he was called to order, even by the democratical and republican members. He spoke for the last time in this assembly, when the discussion took place concerning the incorporation with France of the *Comtat Venaissin*, a province belonging

belonging to the Popes for centuries, but disturbed and invaded by the revolutionary banditti of the Jacobin Propaganda at Paris. This act of injustice was eloquently opposed by the famous Abbé Maury, and defended by Menou, who was then used so roughly, and so turned into ridicule by his adversary, that for months afterwards *caricatures, ballads, epigrams,* and *vaudevilles,* exposed his presumption as well as his folly, his want of candour as well as of information. It was so much the more easy for the Abbé to show the hypocrisy and inconsistency of the other members who desired this incorporation, as one of their first and most solemn decrees, as representatives of the people, had been *to renounce in the name of the French nation, all conquests:* unfortunately for the peace of the world, and for the happiness of mankind, though the first, this was not the last time that the transactions of French revolutionary rulers and legislators have been the very reverse of their determinations and professions*.

The first *blessing* which the unfortunate inhabitants of the *Comtat Venaissin* experienced in consequence of their union with France, was the

* See Les Moniteurs, 1790 and 1791, *Le Recueil d'Anecdotes,* page 565.

the massacre *en masse* of detained and suspected persons in the *Glaciere*, or ice-house, at Avignon, the 19th of October, 1791. Jourdan, called *the cut-throat*, who headed the assassins, when afterwards arrested, declared publicly, that the leading members of the National Assembly had advised him to act as he did, *to strike the people with terror*, and by it to procure addresses for a re-union. To convince his judges of the truth of this assertion, he laid before them several letters from Menou, Mirabeau, Talleyrand, and Sieyes. In that of Menou it was said, "It is better to strike vigorously than justly. By dispatching some hundred aristocrats or fanatics, you will convert thousands of lukewarm or hesitating patriots; and the blood of *some few* Papal slaves at Avignon will *whitewash* the mass of the people in this Papal province, by giving them energy to be French freemen*."

After the King had accepted the constitution decreed by the first National Assembly, a great military promotion took place, and Menou, before a Colonel, was promoted to the rank of a *Mareschal-de-camp*; he was, besides, the second in command over the troops of the line quar-

* See Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 633.

tered in or near Paris on the 10th of August, 1792. His equivocal conduct on that day having made him suspected of royalty, he went to the bar of the Legislative Assembly and took the oath of *equality*, not only to justify himself, but in the hope of being promoted to the ministry of the war department. Under the latter supposition he addressed a letter to the President, in which he asked him to remember his former services.—"I was," said he, "a patriot long before the year 1789, and at all times have held the Court in abhorrence. I have always defended the *dogma of insurrection*, and have distinguished myself in the Constituent Assembly." His incapacity, however, was so well known, that his ambition was again disappointed*.

In the spring of 1797, he was sent as lieutenant-general to the republican army in La Vendée, and on the 8th of June nominated by the Committee of Public Safety commander-in-chief. But though he possessed such courage as will make a subaltern noticed, he had none of those talents necessary to make a chief victorious. The royalists therefore easily defeated him, took the town of Saumur in the sight

* See the last mentioned work, page 639, and Dictionnaire Biographique.

sight of his army, and by it opened a passage over the river Loire, and extended the civil war on both its borders, by *Pont au Cé Vihiers*. On the 17th and 19th of July, though the royalists had no other arms than pikes or bludgeons, he was so completely routed, that he lost all his artillery, his ammunition, and field equipage; and the royalist commander, the young Laroche Jacquelin, pursued him for two leagues so near, that he was shot through the body by a pistol. The representatives of the people with the republican armies then cashiered him, and he was ordered to Paris, where he would undoubtedly have been guillotined; but his wound, which he bribed a surgeon to declare dangerous, procured him permission to reside at *Tours* until he was cured; and he prudently remained in that town during the reign of Robespierre.

In May 1795, he commanded under Pichegru, at Paris, a division of the troops who defended the National Convention, and defeated the Jacobins, who had attacked this Assembly. When Pichegru returned to the army of the Rhine, Menou was made commander-in-chief of the army near Paris. In the struggle between the Sections of that city and the National Convention, concerning the just demand of the former

to chuse their representatives with freedom, Menou acted with great duplicity, caressing and deceiving both parties. He promised the Committee of General Safety that he would never desert the conventional standard; and declared at the same time to the Sections, that he would not command a conventional army against them; by which they could not but understand that he spoke in the name of the troops under his command, and that they were gained over by him. Unfortunately for the just and loyal party, they were soon convinced of his treachery; because, though *he* refused to lead his army against them, it obeyed the orders of Barras and Buonaparte, who, on the 6th of October, in a few hours, dispersed the deluded and disarmed Parisians, after killing 8000 men, women, and children, in the streets of Paris. The victorious Convention, after upbraiding Menou with desertion from the *duties of a republican* in a time of the most pressing danger, and accusing him of having received bribes from the Sections, decreed his asrest; and a mock trial by a military commission took place, more to prevent him from experiencing the vengeance of the Parisians, than with a view to his condemnation and

punishment

punishment for disobedience. He was therefore acquitted; and soon afterwards, the important post of *Inspector of the Cavalry in the Interior* was conferred on him by the Director Barras.

Menou was an old acquaintance of Madame de Beauharnois, whom Barras, in the winter of 1795, had made Madame Napoleon Buonaparte. When, therefore, in 1796, this general's successes gained him the favour of the French Government and the caresses of the French Jacobins, Menou was assiduous in his attention to Madame Buonaparte, who, in return, procured him in 1798 permission to accompany her husband to Egypt. At the unnecessary and barbarous storming of the city of Alexandria, he was wounded in two places, and received a contusion at the battle of the Pyramids. Buonaparte was, however, so convinced of his want of military talents, that in August 1799, when the army of Egypt was cowardly deserted by its chief, he appointed Kleber his successor, though Menou was the senior of the generals of division.

Destitute and dispirited as Kleber found these troops, he was ordered not only to command them against foreign foes, but to preserve them from the dangerous effects of disunion among themselves. He soon, however, by economy and regu-

larity, satisfied their most pressing wants; and by his negociations as well as by his battles, proved both to his officers and men, that in a distant country, where the enemies were as numerous as the inhabitants, harmony was absolutely necessary, if they would avoid subscribing a dishonourable capitulation, or perishing by disgraceful defeats. After the assassination of this General, Menou, from seniority, assumed the command over the French in this part of Africa, where hitherto he had neither filled any important department, nor performed a single exploit worthy of record. On the contrary, his apostacy in embracing the Mussulman faith—his marriage with a Turkish woman, and his disputes with Kleber, a commander at once adored by the soldiery and worthy of their esteem, had long since rendered him contemptible and unpopular with the mass of the army. Accustomed to be conducted by gallant and fortunate chiefs, the troops placed but little confidence in a leader, whom they considered as an intriguer rather than as a general. Kleber left him, however, the situation of his countrymen considerably meliorated, in consequence of the victory of Heliopolis; and by the total defeat of the Grand Vizier, the natives of Egypt, true to the tenets of fatality inculcated by

by the reigning superstition, were struck with dread, and remained quiet, imagining that they were predestinated to submit to a nation which they had seen uniformly triumphant. The contributions levied on the people at Cairo, as a punishment for their late insurrection, enabled the French Generals to quiet the clamours of their men for pay, and Kleber had formed plans for replenishing his ranks by recruiting among the natives: 500 Copts, 300 Franks and 1500 Greeks were already in the army, and the placid temper and accommodating disposition of this General had insured an uninterrupted unanimity. No murmur, no cry of cabal was heard, except from the man who was destined to be his successor. Such was the situation of the French at this moment. Their empire appeared to be firmly established in that quarter of the globe; and it required no small display of cool valour, superior tactics, and scientific combination in the English troops, to restore a favourite province to the Ottoman throne, and exchange the tri-coloured flag, now flaunting along the frontiers of the Desert and the borders of the Nile, for the Turkish Crescent. But under the haughty and insolent Menou, a new order of things seemed to have arisen. He affected rather the profound po-

litician than the active general—issued pompous and declamatory general orders—paid some attention to details, yet left the most important regulations in a state of neglect—counteracted the prudent measures of his predecessor—altered the mode of collecting taxes, and laid the foundation of religious feuds, by shewing an unusual preference to that mode of worship to which he had become a renegade convert. Even these malversations were of small moment, compared with his cowardly efforts to tarnish the fame of Kleber; to maintain a distance between himself and the subordinate Generals, by spreading reports injurious to their character; and to introduce into the army the factious distinguishing terms of *colonists* or anti-colonists. Such a system revived peculations, oppressions, and injuries, calculated to renew the hostility of the natives whenever opportunity should present a prospect of success, exhausted the slender resources of the army, prevented the accumulation of supplies in case of an attack, diminished the spirit of the troops, and produced at length vigorous and even angry remonstrances from the field-officers *.

But

* See the State of Egypt after the battle of Heliopolis, by General Regnier.

But notwithstanding the impolitic and imbecile transactions of Menou, the position of the French was very formidable in Egypt, when an expedition directed and animated by the loyal generosity of Great Britain was sent to act against them. The British force which had been employed in the Mediterranean, aided by the discomfited bands of the Grand Vizier, and a body of sepoys and English troops from India, were selected to achieve the expulsion of the republicans from their ill-acquired territory. The troops under Sir Ralph Abercromby, were unusually weakened by a long continuance at sea during the most tempestuous season ever remembered. By their failure in several attempts, particularly that against Ferrol, and by the uncertainty in what direction their active services would be employed, they were very much dispirited. Yet, when the order arrived, announcing their next destination, joy and alacrity generally prevailed; health was restored by a short residence on shore; and regiments, that were not obliged to extend their services so far, offered themselves as volunteers. The bay of Marmorice was fixed for the general rendezvous; but during the stay there of the British fleet, the French succeeded in throwing into Egypt im-

portant succcurs of men and ammunition, dispatched in the frigates L'Egyptienne, La Justice, La Régéneré, and the cutter Lodi.

At length the English squadron, consisting of near two hundred sail, with an army on board of 15,330 men, left the Coast of Asia Minor, for the purpose of subjugating a great province occupied by an enemy vastly superior; while on the other hand, the British commanders had not a single officer acquainted with the interior of the country, or even a map which could be depended upon. Even this small army included 999 sick, 500 Maltese, and various other descriptions of persons attached to it; so that the effective force could not be computed at more than 12,000, while the French under Menou, on a moderate calculation, amounted to 21,000 able men, and had the additional advantage of possessing the ground which was to be the scene of contention, with strong forts, good cavalry, an ample and well-supplied artillery, and a perfect knowledge of the place; in all of which the English were lamentably defective. They had not sufficient artillery, and the Turks had supplied them with the very worst of horses to remount their cavalry. Of the coast they knew little or nothing; and to complete this state of ignorance,

Major

Major Mackerras, one of the engineers sent to reconnoitre the coast, was killed, and another, Major Fletcher, wounded.

After a boisterous passage of six days, the Arabs' Tower was descried; and in the course of the next morning, the convoy arrived in Aboukir Bay, a scene endeared to all true Britons by the glorious battle of the Nile, and now bursting afresh upon their recollection, in consequence of having anchored in the very spot where that memorable action had been fought. After waiting several days for favourable weather, on the 7th of March, when the wind had abated, General Abercromby proceeded in a boat to examine the shore. Sir Sidney Smith, with his usual activity, also seized this opportunity of reconnoitering the neighbouring lake; and being actuated with that laudable, though hazardous zeal of serving his country, and to obtain some information, he boldly went on shore, and returned soon after with a French republican colonel, an ass, and an Arab fellah its driver, to the no small amusement of the sailors and soldiers of the fleet, who considered these captives as the first fruits of victory. On the next day a landing was attempted. The first division of the army, consisting of 5500 men, under Major-general Coote, assembled in the

boats at two o'clock in the morning, an additional number being placed in ships close to the shore to afford support after the first embarkation was effected. From the extent of their anchorage at the place of rendezvous, the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not take place till nine o'clock; and the French, thus fully prepared, had posted 2500 men, under General Friant, on the top of the sand-hills, forming the concave arch of a circle, on the front of about a mile, in the centre of which rose an height almost perpendicular, and apparently inaccessible. The boats, protected by cutters, bomb and gun-vessels, rowed rapidly towards the shore; while the republicans, from their well-chosen station, where they had planted twelve pieces of artillery, and from the castle of Aboukir, poured a discharge of shot and shells, and a shower of grape and musketry which seemed to plough the surface of the water, and render destruction inevitable. The troops, placed fifty in each boat, were pent up close, and unable to move, exposed to this dreadful fire without returning a shot. Still the boats pressed boldly forward, and the reserve, consisting of the 23d regiment of foot, and the four flank companies of the 40th, under General Moore, leaped on shore, forming as they advanced.—The

French

French met and opposed them, even at the water's edge; but they nobly advanced, shouting as if victory was actually within their grasp. Without firing a shot, they rushed up the heights, charged with the bayonet two battalions, carried two mole-hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left, and took three pieces of cannon. The remaining troops effected a landing with equal courage and success; and after a struggle of twenty minutes duration, the republicans gave way in every direction; and a body of seamen, under Sir Sidney Smith, secured possession of the hills by dragging up several field-pieces. Sir Ralph Abercromby himself went on shore in the evening, and expressed the gratitude and admiration due to his troops for so gallant an exploit; which, from a consideration of the strength of their opponents, and the nature of the position, military men must have pronounced almost impossible. The possession of the ground just occupied by the enemy, the capture of seven pieces of cannon and a howitzer, together with the discomfiture of a large body of men protected by a fortress, strong batteries, and a nearly inaccessible eminence, were the brilliant achievements of the British heroes on that day. But the result is not to be measured by any common

rule,

rule, or estimated by arithmetical calculation: for the French now perceived that they had no longer Turks or even Mamelukes to contend with; they felt that the soldiers of one of the bravest European nations had landed in Egypt, and from this moment the ultimate possession of that country became problematical.

After this victory, several days were passed in improving the situation of the troops, landing ammunition and stores, and digging for water, which was found in sufficient quantities to prevent fear of want. The lake of Aboukir or Maadie, which Menou had neglected to order his troops to secure, was a most important resource, facilitating the transport of necessaries, and enabling the British forces to procure those supplies, which their total want of beasts of burthen would otherwise have prevented them from obtaining. On the 12th, when their preparations were completed, the English army moved towards Alexandria, opposed by the French, but not with so much vigour as to make the loss of the assailants bear any proportion to the advantages they gained. They had two men killed, a lieutenant and four privates wounded. The enemy was encamped on an advantageous ridge of sand-hills, with their right towards the canal of

of Alexandria, and their left to the sea. Next morning orders were given to attack the French, with an intention to turn their right flank. To prevent the success of this evolution, the enemy descended from the heights, and charged the leading brigades of the two advancing lines, commanded by the Major-Generals Craddock and the Earl of Cavan. The French had upwards of six hundred horse well trained and mounted; while the English had only two hundred and fifty, and those in so wretched a condition, that they were hardly able to act. The republicans had brought into the field forty pieces of cannon, most of them curricle guns; while the British had only a few pieces of artillery, slowly and laboriously drawn through the sand by men. Notwithstanding these great disadvantages, the regiments which formed their respective advanced guards received the assailants firmly, and after having changed their position with equal quickness and precision, obliged them to retire under the protection of the fortified heights that constituted one part of the defence of the city of Alexandria. It was intended to have carried them also; and the reserve, under General Moore, which had remained in column during the whole day, was brought forward for

that

that purpose, while the second line, under General Hutchinson, advanced to the left, across part of the lake of Mareotis, with a view to assail both flanks. It became apparent, however, that from the state of the forts on the hills, and the unexpected strength of the position, further progress would be attended with great difficulty and destruction; the troops were therefore ordered to withdraw, and encamp with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria, and to be content with the advantages they had acquired.

The soldiers were halted, while Sir Ralph Abercromby deliberated on the propriety of advancing; and, during this period, the fire of the French was tremendous. Aim was unnecessary; they had only to load and fire; their bullets plunged into the lines, and swept away great numbers: but although this dreadful scene continued several hours, the brave soldiery never murmured, nor expressed any impatience, except what arose from an ardent wish to be led to the attack. The loss on this day was 1300 men killed and wounded; and four pieces of cannon, a howitzer, with a large quantity of ammunition, were captured. The firmness of the British troops is highly and deservedly extolled. Their movements were executed with the same steadi-

ness

ness and accuracy, as if at a review on their native plains.

The English now began to fortify their new position, by means of heavy cannon brought on shore for that purpose; and, as a defensive warfare on the part of an invading army always assumes an unprosperous aspect, the late retreat appeared in every point of view to be eminently disastrous. What rendered the situation of the British troops still more critical, was the arrival of Menou from Cairo with a large reinforcement of troops; but on the other hand, the castle of Aboukir, which had sustained a siege of eight days while in possession of the Turks, now surrendered to the British at the end of five.

Menou's approach to Alexandria was announced by the failure of the market from which the English were supplied, owing to the strictness with which his cruel orders were executed for killing the Arabs engaged in that traffic. All this severity, however, could not prevent one of these people from disclosing to the British Commander the absurd and improbable intention of Menou to surprize the camp, or to give battle to the English. Although Sir Sidney Smith vouched for the truth of this intelligence, and the fidelity of the reporter, it was so obviously repugnant

nant to the interest of the republicans to make the attempt, that the assertion obtained no credit. It could, in fact, hardly be believed, that the ignorance of the French Commander was equal to his presumption; and that he, instead of hemming in the invaders, cutting off their supplies, intercepting their convoys, and meditating a tedious and destructive war against troops unaccustomed to the country, had resolved to decide the fate of Egypt in a single combat. The discipline established by Sir Ralph Abercromby was, however, no less effectual in this crisis, than any preparation which he could have made in consequence of the information that he had disregarded. The troops were, as usual, under arms half an hour before day-break on the ever-memorable 21st of March.

With a body of 12,000 men, Menou began his attack at half past three o'clock in the morning. In the general orders issued on the preceding evening, describing the order of battle, he had impudently, in a bombastic style, announced, "that his design was to drive the English army into the sea, or the lake Maadie:" so certain was he of the issue. The left wing of the French army, consisting of four demi-brigades of light infantry, was commanded by General Lanusse,

assisted

assisted by General Roize with a body of cavalry; the Generals Friant and Rampon were stationed in the centre with five demi-brigades; General Regnier was posted on the right with two demi-brigades, and two regiments of cavalry; while General d'Estaing commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of artillery. The action commenced by a false attack on the left wing of the British by the dromedary corps; but the real contest was reserved fo the right; against which the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, advanced and charged in column, while the brigade under General Silly marched straight against the grand redoubt: they at the same time tried to penetrate the centre, while the left was kept in check by a body of light troops.

The first onset, as is usual on the part of the French, was impetuous, and was by their proud chief expected to have been irresistible; but the cool and steady valour of the English checked their ardour, and they were repulsed in two successive charges, during which the British infantry, although broken, and contending hand to hand with a well-appointed cavalry, succeeded in remaining masters. But, notwithstanding the

whole

whole line had been partially engaged, the hottest part of the action occurred on the right; for the chief effort of the twelve French demi-brigades, and all the cavalry in their camp, one regiment only excepted, was evidently directed against this flank; as it was intended, after turning it, to envelope the reserve, and thus ensure a complete victory. A body of chosen troops, consisting of about 900, which, in consequence of a series of brilliant achievements in Italy, had acquired the appellation of "*The Invincibles*," actually succeeded in a certain degree, by piercing between the walls of an ancient ruin and a modern battery, which they attempted to storm three different times: but repeated vollies of grape and ball, together with a charge of bayonets, nearly annihilated the whole of these celebrated soldiers, who perished on the ground they occupied without flinching; while the officer who bore the famous standard embroidered with their exploits, surrendered this trophy at the same moment with his life. The ammunition of both parties was exhausted; and so great was their inveteracy, that they maintained a conflict by throwing large stones, with one of which an English serjeant was killed. Menou, at length, finding that he was completely foiled, ordered a

retreat

retreat at ten o'clock in the morning, after a fight of near seven hours duration.

The triumph of the British was damped when it was known that their valiant and beloved Leader had received a wound, which afterwards proved mortal. On the first alarm of the irruption on the right, Sir Ralph Abercromby, proceeding to the spot, dispatched his aids-de-camp in different directions. While he was left alone, some French cavalry reached the place, and he was thrown from his horse: one of the party rode at him, endeavouring to cut him down; but the brave veteran, seizing the uplifted sword, wrested it from his hand, at the very moment when a soldier of the 42d came up and put an end to the assailant with his bayonet. The General was wounded in the thigh, and by a contusion on his breast, but nobly refused to remove from the field till the end of the conflict. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

The loss of the French is calculated at 4000 killed, wounded, and prisoners; and this number would have been greatly augmented, but for want of ammunition, or rather of cattle to convey

vey it from the magazines, which hindered the English from annoying them to the utmost in their retreat. The British army had to lament the loss of 6 officers and 223 men killed, 60 officers and 1100 men wounded, and 3 officers and 29 men missing. The French Generals Lanusse, Roize, and Beaudot were slain; Generals d'Estaing, Silly, Eppler, and several other officers of distinction wounded. In the English army, besides the brave Abercromby, the no less valiant Generals Moore, Hope, Oakes, and Lawson, with the undaunted hero Sir Sidney Smith, were wounded. The day was, on the whole, one of the most glorious that ever occurred to reflect honour on the British arms. And though a vastly superior army was yet to be overcome, lines nearly impregnable to be stormed, and four fortified towns to be taken, this action, fought on the barren isthmus of Aboukir, by its moral and political, as well as military effects, eventually decided the sovereignty of the whole of this portion of Africa. Nor was even the scene of this important and memorable contest devoid of interest or unworthy of record. The field of battle exhibited the ruins of a Roman colony. At a little distance was a city famous in the annals of mankind, and calculated at once to remind

the

the beholder of the genius of Alexander, and the exploits of the first Cæsar. These monuments of ancient grandeur, now designated by the names of the Pillar of Pompey, and the Needle of Cleopatra, were finely contrasted with the Pharillon, Cafferelli, and Cretin, all fortified according to the modern rules of war, as well as with the armies of two northern nations contending for a remote and unhealthy corner of the East; while the adjacent sea presented an object eminently interesting, as connected with the signal defeat of Anthony in one age, and of De Bruyes in another. A terrific grandeur was at the same time impressed by the sight of so many bodies of men and horses mingled promiscuously together; while scores of cannon darting forth scorching flames, and metals winged with death, at once enlivened the gloom, and added to the multitude of victims. To crown the whole, an heroic chief, pierced with a mortal wound, and yet consoled even in the embrace of death by the achievements of his soldiers, was borne reluctantly from that field which still resounded with his victory.

Two days after the battle of Aboukir, Sir Sidney Smith, by the authority of the naval and military commanders-in-chief, repaired to the enemy's

enemy's lines, for the purpose of making an offer of renewing the Convention of El Arish. But to this offer Menou ordered General Friant to send a reply couched in his usual lofty language, expressing surprize that an offer so disrespectful to the Army of the East and *to himself*, should be made, and with assurances that circumstances by no means warranted the proposal, but the Army would defend Egypt to the last.

To throw upon others the odium that he had incurred by the absurd rashness of his attack on this day, and to silence the clamour excited in the army by his disgraceful defeat, Menou accused, arrested, embarked, and sent to Europe, Regnier, and all other generals who had talents to discover, and courage to expose, his nnmerous blunders and dangerous incapacity. The events, however, which succeeded their departure, clearly proved, that Menou was as unfit to command armies as unable to head civil departments; as irresolute and imprudent in directing military operations, as impolitic and ridiculous in providing for the security and prosperity of a colony.

On the 25th of March the British Commander-in-chief was gratified by the arrival of the Captain Pacha, with a reinforcement of 6000 men,

men, in consequence of which a small portion of the British force and 4000 Turks, under the command of Colonel Spencer, were detatched against Rosetta, which commands the navigation of the Nile. After a painful march through the Desert, the united troops, slightly opposed by the French, took the place, blockaded the fort St. Julien, and advanced with the main body to El Hamed. A communication was now opened with the Delta, so as to obtain fresh provisions for the army. Sir Sidney Smith, with an armed flotilla, soon after this navigated the river as high as El Aft; while General Hutchinson, the worthy successor of Sir Ralph Abercromby, apprised of the fears of the French by a letter from Menou found in the pocket of General Roize, ordered the canal of Alexandria to be cut, so as to let the waters of the sea into the lake Mareotis, and thus strengthen the position of the English camp, as well as cut off all direct communication between the garrison of Alexandria and the interior of Egypt.

In consequence of this inundation, and the easy conquest of Rosetta and St. Julien inspiring sanguine hopes, General Hutchinson repaired to the main body of troops at El Hamed, leaving General Coote and Admiral Bickerton to

blockade Alexandria. Rhamanich was captured on the 10th of May, and the British Commander continued to advance into the heart of the country. In the course of his march he intercepted a convoy of 500 camels, with an escort of 600 men destined for Menou at Alexandria. On the 16th of May, the Turks under the Grand Vizier defeated the French detachment from Cairo, and forced it to retreat to El Hanka, seven miles from the scene of action. This victory was not, in a military point of view, of great moment, as the French retreated in good order, though they left 300 killed and wounded on the field. But it repressed their sanguine hopes of seeing another Heliopolis, and gave the Turks confidence, by proving that their adversaries, though generally successful, were not invincible.

In the mean time the English army, now strengthened by the arrival of 1500 Mamelukes, under the command of Osman Bey, the successor of Mourad, had advanced without interruption to Giza, opposite Cairo, garrisoned by about 4000 Frenchmen; while the Turks, flushed with success equally novel and unexpected, prepared to form a junction, and besiege that city in concert. Accordingly, after a variety of delays, partly arising from the low state of the river, and

partly from the bar at Rosetta, the heavy cannon were brought up and batteries erected; the British troops, aided by the Captain Pacha, having invested Giza, while the Grand Vizier, assisted by Colonel Halloway and other British Officers, assumed a position just out of the range of the guns of the capital. This city was capable of a good defence, but no reasonable hope could be entertained of ultimate triumph; and therefore, after a siege of twenty days, distinguished by no military operation worth recounting, a convention was concluded, and Cairo surrendered on the 27th of June. It was provided by a specific article, that the terms, which were nearly the same as those allowed by the treaty of El Arish, should be communicated to General Menou, who was at liberty to accede to them, provided his acceptance should be notified at the head-quarters of the English troops before Alexandria, within the space of ten days.

The intelligence of the surrender of Cairo occasioned great regret and surprize at Alexandria; and General Menou was now as much incensed against General Belliard as he had some few months before been against General Regnier. By new proclamations he tried to keep up the spirit of his soldiers, and by new abuse and ca-

lumnies he hoped to make their hatred against the British nation as violent and ungenerous as his own. But they soon found that his accusations were as contemptible, as his professions were false and despicable. On the 3d of August General Hutchinson with the British troops from Cairo arrived before Alexandria, and serious operations were commenced. An attempt was, however, yet made to send in M. Estéve, the French paymaster-general from Cairo, as a flag of truce; but to such an excess were the vile suspicions of Menou carried, that he was not allowed to enter.

The siege was formed by General Coote on the western side, who, taking the command of a large body of troops, embarked them on the inundation; and having effected a landing near the desired spot, took his position along a ridge of steep quarries, his right to the inundation, and his left to a sandy plain which extended to the sea. General Hutchinson, to make a diversion in his favour, commenced a general attack to the eastward, which produced the desired effect.

After great preparatory labours General Coote opened a battery against fort Marabon, destroyed the signal tower, and obliged the garrison, consisting

sisting of 195 men, to surrender prisoners of war. Animated by this success, and seven sloops of war having entered the western harbour, General Coote took a position close under the works of the town. Two days after this, batteries were opened against the redoubt de Bain, and in the course of the following night, Lieutenant Colonel Smith succeeded in an attempt to surprize the advanced guard. In this extremity General Menou, being closely pressed by the Commander-in-chief on the east, and General Coote on the west side, (instead of burying himself in the rubbish of Alexandria, as he so repeatedly promised to do) deemed it *prudent* to capitulate. Accordingly, a negociation for that purpose being entered into, the same terms were granted as to the garrison of Cairo; after which the English took possession of the entrenched camp, the heights above Pompey's pillar, and fort Triangular. Thus, by British valour, Egypt was liberated from the dominion of the French republican tyrants, after they had overcome, plundered, and butchered the Arabs, the Mamelukes, and the Turks; obtained possession of all the cities, seized on the Said, made eruptions into Syria, and threatened the

remotest shores of Asia with subjugation and slavery!

After Menou's return to Europe he was in a temporary disgrace with the First Consul, and forced to remain at Marseilles until his justification, backed by the influence and intrigues of his old *constitutional* friends, Madame Buonaparte and Talleyrand, procured him, in March, 1802, permission to arrive in the capital of the French Republic. But here General Regnier waited for him, challenged him, and, after killing his friend General d'Estaing one day, appointed a meeting with him for the next. Buonaparte, however, interfered, and Regnier was obliged to reside forty leagues from Paris. This, perhaps, saved Menou's life, but, according to the opinion of the French military characters, stained his honour and reputation. No officer would afterwards serve under him; and when his opponents, Generals Regnier and Belliard, obtained military commands, the one at Toulon, and the other in Belgium, after being long unemployed, he received at last the civil appointment of Lieutenant-Governor in Piedmont, where he has not only himself become a christian again, but

but converted his Mahometan wife to christianity *.

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The

* By an English gentleman who, during the last summer (1804), visited Piedmont, the following particulars have been inserted in the public prints, concerning Menou's conduct, as a revolutionary governor of that unfortunate country, where the discontent of the people from the tyranny of this, Buonaparte's satrap, has made it necessary to suspend the Constitution, and the Constitutional Tribunals, and to erect in their place, Special Military Commissions, under the *special* command and disposition of Menou.

"Turin, the capital of Piedmont, formerly the residence of his Sardinian Majesty, the seat of refinement, luxury, and politeness, is now as tame, dull, and insipid, as any provincial town of Italy or France. Abdallah Menou, who commands there, rules with the most despotic sway, and is execrated by all the inhabitants. His extravagance, in keeping up a kind of eastern magnificence, has led him into enormous expences. He is said to be in debt to the mercers, jewellers, and other trades people, to the amount of six millions of livres, for no bill of his has been paid since his appointment to the chief command at Turin. The following anecdote may give some idea of the mildness of the administration of government in the conquered provinces, as well as of the scrupulous regard to justice in the Imperial Cabinet. Menou's poulterer, to whom he owed above 40,000 livres, after many fruitless attempts to procure payment of even part of his debt, contrived, by uncommon perseverance, last spring, to obtain a personal interview of the General. He found Menou, on being ordered into the dining saloon, with his etat-major, in one of his daily revels, immersed in inebriety, and reclining on a Turkish sofa! He made a very affecting appeal to the feelings of the general, concerning the ruin which would inevitably fall on him, if not paid some of his money. A drunken laugh succeeded his representation, when Menou coolly replied, *Mon ami, ne vous chagrinez point, l'on va vous payer.* He was instantly taken into an adjoining room, tied up by the heels by a couple of Mamelukes, and severely

The French writers give the following character of Menou:—"This man, who is one of the vilest members furnished by the order of the nobility of the revolutionary party, has shewn all the vices of a factious intriguer, without placing in the opposite scale a single virtue or talent: and has therefore from the beginning of the Revolution inspired contempt in all factions, and been insulted or ridiculed by all parties; even by his own accomplices. Vain without knowledge, proud without dignity, and insolent without judgment: he has been hissed and despised at the head of armies, as well as when ascending the tribune in the senate. He has served Louis XVI., the Duke of Orleans, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Barras, and Buonaparte, as he has done Christ and Mahomet; or which is the same—he has been alike a political and religious apostate, regarding no more the principles of virtue than those of religion† !! In his person,

Menou

verely bastinadoed in presence of Menou and his officers; after which he was precipitated from the window, and killed on the spot. The mayor of the city had sufficient spirit to transmit a *proces verbal* of the facts to the grand judge Regnier, at Paris; but no answer had been received to it so late as August last (1804)."

† See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, Les Annales du Terrorisme, and Le Dictionnaire Biographique.

Menou is a tall good-looking man, between 50 and 60 years of age*.

* The paaticulars of Menou's transactions in Egypt, are taken from Political Reflections, by G. Baldwin, and from Sir Robert Wilson, Walsh, Witman, Regnier, and the State Papers.

GENERAL MURAT,

BROTHER-IN-LAW OF BUONAPARTE.

C'est du sein des sifflets,
Que naissent les succés. ANON.

SINCE the destruction of the Roman empire by the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, no political convulsions have, in so short a time, brought forward from obscurity so many low and unknown individuals as revolutionary France. During the last twelve years more persons have appeared upon her bloody stage, who, from their more or less interesting posts, have unexpectedly become the objects of public curses, curiosity, inquiry, or conversation, than in the twelve preceding centuries. Not only every year, but almost every month, has changed the performers, though not the scene; and men who but lately were regarded as the underlings of this shocking theatre, start suddenly forward, usurp the place of the first-rate tragedians, proscribe, crush, or butcher their predecessors, and rule with

with an iron rod, until in their turn, we see them overpowered, dead, or dethroned. Republican tyrants have been killed by republican tyrants: Brissot, Condorcet, Petion, and their accomplices, were guillotined or outlawed by Danton, Robespierre, and their blood-hounds; who, after devouring each other, were nearly annihilated by the Barras, by the Talliens, by the Merlins, by the Rewbels, &c. who, in their turn, were removed or exiled by Buonaparte. Unfortunately, the republican tyranny has survived them all; the republican scaffolds erected in the year 1, are yet standing in the year 12; and if the regicide Maximilian Robespierre murdered one Bourbon in 1793, the poisoner and assassin Napoleon Buonaparte butchered another Bourbon in 1804. If in 1795, the regicide Director Barras poisoned in the Temple, his rival, Louis XVII., in 1804, the abominable First Consul Buonaparte strangled in the same prison his rival, General Pichegru; and the republican dungeons contain as many innocent victims under the reign of terror in Buonaparte's Consulate, as they did under that of Robespierre's vile Committee of Public Safety.

General Murat, who stands foremost among the many active and guilty instruments or ac-

complices of Napoleon Buonaparte, is the son of a water-carrier at Paris, who, for some crime, to save himself from the search of the police, fled into the mountains of Dauphiny, where he joined a gang of smugglers and coiners, and where General Murat was born in 1764*. Being accused of belonging to the corps of brigands commanded by the famous captain of smugglers Mandrin, Murat's father was tried at Valence, and there broken upon the wheel in May 1769; and young Murat was sent to the orphan-house at Lyons, where he remained, until an actor of the name of St. Aubin took him as an errand boy, procured him to be a *Garcon du Theatre*, or a servant attached to the theatre in that city, and paid, besides, a master for teaching him to read and write. Being of an intriguing disposition and good appearance, he easily insinuated himself into the favour of the principal actresses, and was in 1780, upon their recommendation, permitted to appear upon the stage, first in the parts of valets, and afterwards in those of *petits maitres*; but in neither was he successful, wanting manners, memory,

* In the pamphlet, La Sainte Famille, page 76, it is said that Murat is the son of a corporal in the Guet, and was, in 1790, a soldier of the regiment of Flanders; but several more authentic works quoted hereafter, give him the parentage, &c. related here.

memory, and application. He was, however, endured until 1786, when, being hissed while playing the Marquis, in the comedy called *Le Circle*, he dared to threaten the spectators by his gestures. From that time hisses pursued him so much whenever he presented himself, that he was obliged to quit the stage; and after leaving Lyons secretly to avoid the demands of his creditors, he enlisted in the regiment of cavalry called *Royal Allemagne*, which was with other corps ordered to the neighbourhood of Paris, when, in 1789, Orleans, La Fayette, and other rebels of the Constituent Assembly, set up the standard of revolt against their King: he was among the few men of that loyal regiment whom their emissaries seduced, and he deserted when it was encamped in the Elysian Fields on the 12th of July. After the capture of the Bastile had completed the Revolution, and several companies of the King's Guard had joined the Parisians in arms, a National Guard under the command of La Fayette was decreed, in which Murat was made a corporal. In the plots and disagreements of different factions he always assisted the Terrorists; and in return, Santerre promoted him to a Lieutenancy in the battalion of St. Antoine, of which that brewer then had the command. On the

the 20th of June, 1792, he accompanied his patron and the brigands who insulted the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family in the Castle of the Thuilleries, where he was heard to repeat: *Louis, tu es un traitre, il nous faut ta tête**; and when the courageous Madame Elizabeth said: "Are you not ashamed to insult the most patriotic of Kings with such language?" he impudently answered: *Tais toi coquine, autrement je te coupe en deux*†. The next day Santerre advanced him to be his aid-de-camp; and as such he was employed on the 10th of August in the attack of that dreadful day, which made the best of Princes the most wretched of prisoners, by changing the throne into a dungeon.

Marat, Danton, Mehée, Tallien, and other assassins, who prepared the massacres of the prisoners, regarded Santerre as a man possessing little or no character: they therefore sent him on an expedition to Versailles, that he might be absent when these cruelties were perpetrated; and the command of different districts of the city of Paris was confided to men as barbarous as themselves. Murat headed the troops who on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September, of the same year, guarded the

* Louis, thou art a traitor; we must have thy head!

† Hold thy tongue b—h, otherwise I will cut thee in two.

the prison called *La Force*; where, with other innocent persons, the beautiful Princess of Lamballe was butchered, and a refinement of savage barbarity was exercised on her person, even when a corpse, almost incredible, if it were not authenticated *. For these infamous and ferocious deeds he was promoted by Marat to be a Colonel. But, instead of going to the frontiers and combating the enemies of his country, he remained at Paris, denounced at the clubs, and plotted in the committees. On the 11th of December, when Louis XVI. was carried from the Temple to be interrogated at the bar of the National Convention; and on the 21st of January, 1793, when the regicide members of that Assembly sent the most virtuous of sovereigns and of men to die like a criminal; the gens d'armes of the escort were commanded by Murat, who had passed the night before on duty in the Temple, regarded then as a post of confidence and of *honour*. In March, during the pillage of the grocers shops, he was a Secretary in the Jacobin Club, and signed with Marat

* All the particulars of Murat's birth, &c. and transactions until 1796, are taken from *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, and *Le Recueil d'Anecdotes*. In the latter, chap. xi. page 97, it is said, that he ordered the head of the Princess of Lamballe to be carried to the Queen, with whom she was a favourite; and had a wig made of her hair, which he cut off before she was cold.

Marat the proclamation of the 10th, addressed to the citizens sans-culottes at Paris, *inviting them to do themselves justice for the aristocracy of the bankers, merchants, and shop-keepers.* "If you want money," expresses this curious proclamation, "you know where the bankers live; if you stand in need of clothing, visit the clothiers; and if you have no other means to procure yourselves coffee, sugar, soap, &c. fraternize with the grocers. What you take from them is *only* your property restored to you, and of which you and your brethern have been robbed by their aristocratical cupidity." In May he was president of the Club of the Cordeliers; and in a speech printed in Marat's Paper, *L'Ami du Peuple,* of the 25th of the same month, *he demands the heads of sixty-nine politicians of Brissot's and Roland's factions,* as the sole promoters of the defeats of the armies, and of the troubles at *Lyons, Bourdeaux,* and *Marseilles*; *accomplices with Pitt and Cobourg, as well as with Dumourier.*

After the revolution of the 31st of May, and the victory which the terrorists gained on the two following days over the moderate party, Santerre obtained the command of an army of 14,000 men, with whom he marched against the royalists of La Vendée; and Murat, who was then advanced

vanced to a General of Brigade, commanded the cavalry; but, either from misfortunes or from incapacity, he was continually routed, and two-thirds of the troops were killed in less than three weeks. This caused great discontent at Paris, both in the Jacobin Club and in the National Convention; and Santerre was recalled in disgrace, which was made so much the more mortifying, when, being accused by Murat of drunkenness, ignorance, and cowardice, he was sent to prison*.

When, after the death of Marat, an emulation took place between all the sans-culottes patriots of those days, who should bestow the greatest praise on this *worthy* apostle of French republicanism, the most extravagant motions were made by the jacobins; the most violent speeches were published; and the most atrocious addresses were circulated all over France. On this occasion, Murat sent to the Jacobin Club, in the street St. Honoré, at Paris, the following letter, printed in *Le Journal des Jacobins* of July 28th, 1793, page 6, and in *Le Recueil d'Anecdotes*, tome ii. page 99.

" BROTHERS

* During his command in La Vendée, Murat gave once for his watch-word; Pillage, rallying, horror!—*Pillage, ralliement, horreur!* Prudhomme Histoire Generale, tom. i. page 23.

" BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

" Chance made my name nearly the same with that of the ever-regretted martyr of equality, Marat; *fellow-feeling* made me his admirer, before conviction made me his worshipper, or patriotism his follower, defender, and mourner. Others have offered perfumes upon the altar of this their country's *god of liberty*; others have composed hymns to the glory of this *the best* and *first* of French republicans; others, again, have placed his bust by the side of the immortal Gracchus, Publicola, and Brutus!

" A soldier who possesses nothing but his love of liberty and his valour, his enthusiasm, *sans-culotism*, and his sword, can neither build altars, nor carve statues, neither sing apotheoses, nor write deifications: but he can do more;—*he can immolate himself*. If an hecatomb of the carcasses of Marat's friends had been decreed, upon its summit before this day should have been placed my corpse. It is neither ambition to shine with borrowed colours, nor presumption to think that millions of sans-culottes are not as good patriots as myself. It is neither meant as a reproach to the lukewarm zeal of others, nor as a praise of that ardour, which almost consumes me, and forces me to desire to *eternalize* the name of Marat. No! I

am

am much above those petty and selfish considerations. I am a sans-culotte by birth as well as Marat; my father died a victim to the tyranny of kings, as he did to the treachery of kingly aristocracy. I am married to a sans-culotte woman, now in a situation to give citizens to the Republic. Let my progeny immortalize the memory of Marat, by permitting me to change only one letter in my name. I promise you, brothers and friends, upon the faith of a jacobin mountaineer, that, should I observe any aristocratical inclination in my children, another Brutus, I shall be their executioner! Accept, therefore, this patriotic offer from your devoted fellow sans-culotte.—The jacobins for ever! The mountain for ever! The guillotine for ever! Health and fraternity.

(Signed) "MARAT *ci-devant* MURAT."

This offer, however, was declined, upon the observation of Citizen Felix Pelletier de St. Forgeaux, "that, was every sans-culotte patriot permitted to follow his inclination, *twenty millions of Marats* would already have been registered at the municipalities of the French Republic. Besides, the constitutional equality of the French commonwealth, could never allow any distinction

that

that would place one citizen above another; and a person who now should be suffered to call himself Marat, would be as much above other citizens in the public opinion, as Louis Capet was, from the imbecility or weakness of his subjects, regarded ten years ago." This sans-culotte, de St. Forgeaux, was a brother to the murdered regicide of that name, and had a revenue of 300,000 livres or 12,000l. This curious monument of the former revolutionary sentiments of Murat forms a striking contrast with the present aristocratical conduct and notions of this General, now as vain and proud of his rank, riches, and fraternity with a First Consul, as he was then ambitious of being considered a sans-culotte *à la Marat*, the most blood-thirsty of all French sans-culottes, Robespierre not excepted.

In the winter of the same year, Murat commanded at Lyons a brigade of the horse *chasseurs* of the revolutionary army, with the 9th regiment of dragoons. These corps were chiefly employed to arrest those inhabitants whom the vengeance or ferocity of the pro-consuls, Collot D'Herbois, Dubois-Creance, Fouché, and others proscribed; to escort them, after their mock trials, to be executed, or to execute them, by shooting, or cutting them down with their swords

swords. In the spring of 1794, he was ordered to join the army of the Alps, where he continued without distinguishing himself until 1796, when Buonaparte assumed the command over that army; where, hearing of Murat's local knowledge and military intelligence, he appointed him first aid-de-camp, and the second officer in the staff next to General Berthier. He now shewed not only an undaunted courage, but talents which nobody supposed him to possess before the battle of Mondovi, on the 17th of April, 1796, where he caused himself to be particularly remarked; so much so, that when the King of Sardinia, in the latter part of the same month, made overtures for a pacification with the French Republic, Buonaparte sent him to Turin with full powers to negotiate, and afterwards gave him, together with General Juvot, the honourable commission to carry to Paris, and to present to the Directory, the 21 colours and standards conquered in several engagements from the combined army of Austria and Sardinia. On the 24th of May he came again to Turin, with dispatches from Paris, concerning the negotiations then carrying on between France and Sardinia; but after a stay of some few days only, Buonaparte ordered him back to the army, where he daily advanced in the

the good graces of this Chief. In June, he accompanied the French minister at Genoa, Faypoult, to the Doge, with a summons in the name of Buonaparte, to order the Imperial Ambassador to leave the territory of the Republic of Genoa within 48 hours. He here behaved with such insolence, that it was with difficulty the old and respectable Doge, whom he had so cowardly insulted, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces. This was the first specimen of the intended French republican fraternity which this ancient Republic experienced, and the first act of Buonaparte's revolutionary diplomacy, not to respect the sacred and privileged characters of the representatives of independent princes to independent states, though protected by those laws of nations, acknowledged and regarded as inviolable by the unanimous consent of all civilized governments over all civilized people. Had the Continental Princes (not then quite so degraded and enslaved as they now are) resented in a spirited and determined manner this impertinent infraction, and attempt of a fortunate upstart to make power pass for right, and passion for justice, the world would not since have witnessed the Temple at Paris inhabited by foreign ministers, nor seen them worse treated in the

palace

palace of the Thuilleries, than even in that state prison.

When one neutral and independent country in Italy had already been unlawfully attacked, as Buonaparte advanced with his armed banditti, all other weak states might, in its invasion and subversion, read their own destiny. The violent hatred of this General against England, has shewn itself from the first month that his crimes and fortune elevated him into notoriety. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, after unwillingly renouncing his neutrality in 1793, renewed, on the 9th of February, 1795, his former treaties with France; a French minister resided at Florence; and the South of France, suffering from a famine, was liberally provided with supplies from Leghorn. But advantageous as the neutrality of Tuscany was to the French Republic, and sacred as the ties should have been which united these two Governments, no sooner had the Genoese territory been invaded, terrified, and plundered, than Buonaparte gave orders for one division of his army, under the command of Generals Vaubois and Murat, to advance by forced marches towards Leghorn, and to seize upon that city, the rich depôt of English product and industry; and on the 28th of June his orders were executed

by

by these Generals, who on that day occupied all the forts; and, in a proclamation, declared all British property in this neutral place to be confiscated to the French Republic. In some few days more, fines, imprisonment, and even death, was inflicted on all persons who did not make fair declarations. The consequence was, that in twelve days, or before the 11th of July, according to the pamphlet called *Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie*, p. 177, General Murat carried away from Leghorn 500,000 sequins, or 250,000l.; a sum of money that he no doubt more than shared with his Commander, who, by this robbery, from which British subjects were the chief sufferers, had an opportunity to gratify two of his *noble* passions: *his spiteful malice* against this country, and his unbounded cupidity every where; in Italy as in Germany, in Europe as in Africa.

On the 18th of the same month, General Murat commanded the attack to the left, on the intrenched camp of the Austrians near Mantua, and succeeded in carrying it. For several weeks he gained almost daily advantages over the Imperial General Wurmser, who commanded an harassed, defeated, dispirited and inferior army. In the retreat which this General was forced to make on the

the 9th of September, Murat pursued him at the head of a corps of chasseurs, and on the 11th tried to cut off his retreat towards Ceva. But after having routed several divisions of the enemy, he was repulsed in his turn, though superior in number. Rallying, however, and continuing the attack, he was wounded in an engagement on the 15th, where the courageous Austrian veteran charged at the head of the light troops of his army. This wound forced him to demand leave of absence, and he resided at Milan until December, when he re-assumed his former station in the blockading corps round Mantua.

During the campaign of 1797 he displayed the same activity. On the 14th of January, at the head of a demi-brigade of light infantry, he advanced by Monte-Baldo, forced the Austrians, who occupied La Corona, routed them after a very obstinate resistance, and obliged their cavalry to cross the Adige by swimming; and he contributed not a little by his indefatigable vigilance to the surrender of Mantua. Notwithstanding the astonishing courage and frequent sorties of General Wurmser, this city was forced by famine and disease to open its gates to the French Republicans, by a capitulation signed on the 2d of February the same year. The defence

of this place, which excited the admiration of the enemy, and the praise of Buonaparte himself, cost the Austrians 24,000 men; and 22,000 Frenchmen perished in the different engagements during the siege and the blockades, of whom 9000 are calculated by the author of the Campaigns in Italy of 1796 and 1797, to have been killed in fighting under Murat.

After the reduction of Mantua, Buonaparte ordered some divisions of his army to invade the defenceless Papal territory; but upon the unexpected approach of the Archduke Charles towards Italy, with a small, but well-affected and well-disciplined body of troops, the French Commander postponed his intention of dethroning the Sovereign Pontiff, whom he obliged, however, to sign a humiliating and ruinous peace. On the 24th of February, Murat was ordered to attack the enemy, strongly fortified near Foy; where, after being repulsed twice, and having two horses killed under him, he finally succeeded; though he on this occasion had more men killed, than the number of Austrians whom he combated and vanquished; but he, like most other republican generals, has justly been reprobated for the profusion with which they squandered away, often unnecessarily, the lives of their

their soldiers. Had he, after being repulsed once, waited half an hour only before he renewed the assault, according to the last quoted author, seven hundred Frenchmen less had perished on that day; as the Austrians were preparing to evacuate their entrenchments when they were attacked a second and third time.

Upon the determination of Buonaparte to penetrate into Carinthia, many petty skirmishes took place between the advanced posts of the Imperialists and the French under the Generals Murat, Belliard, and Kellermann. The Archduke, already under the necessity of acting on the defensive, in continuing, however, to retreat, avoiding as much as possible any serious engagements; and therefore in crossing the Tagliamento cut down the bridges behind him, and threw up entrenchments, which extended from the passes of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Belgrado. In this position the young prince halted for some days, determined to dispute the passage of that river, which, though naturally impetuous and rapid, might then be forded, the stream being greatly diminished, in consequence of the severity of the frost in the mountainous regions. Taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, Buonaparte, on the 16th of March, ordered Murat

at the head of one division, and Duphot heading another, to cross the ford, so as to advance against the right of the enemy's entrenchments, while the troops under General Guieux executed the same operation in a different quarter. Murat and Duphot precipitated themselves nearly at the same time into the water, and gained the opposite bank, where the French infantry was repeatedly, but ineffectually, charged by the Austrian horse, whom they received, without flinching, on the points of their bayonets; but it was principally to the murderous fire of their artillery, that the republicans were indebted for this day's victory, as the cannon were stationed so as to shower down such terrible and incessant discharges of grape-shot on the foe, that all opposition soon became ineffectual. The Austrians, however, still presented an undaunted front, fearless of danger and of death. But Murat and Guieux having penetrated to the village of Cainin, where the Archduke had established his head-quarters, they fell into some disorder, and retreated towards the mountains. On the 19th, in pursuit of the vanquished enemy, Muratd istinguished himself again at the passage of Lizonzo, where he had a horse killed under him, and his clothes pierced with bullets.

After

After the preliminaries of Leoben had been signed, Buonaparte, with his usual treacherous policy, overturned the Republic of Venice; and while the definitive treaty was negociating at Campo Formio, he first intrigued to change this form of government, and afterwards openly attacked the independent and neutral republic of the Grisons and of the Valteline. Murat was ordered by him in September, 1797, to march with a column towards the frontiers of the Valteline, and to *settle* the differences between these two States. After some previous plunder and requisitions, Murat published a declaration, "That considering the many wrongs of the Grisons towards their ally, and the *unanimous* desire of the citizens of the Valteline, this latter country was incorporated with the Cisalpine Republic." Such, however, was the *unanimity*, that the very day, September 26th, when this impertinent and false declaration appeared, this republican General ordered twenty-two of the most respectable citizens, who formerly had occupied places as magistrates, to be tried as conspirators, by a military commission, for protesting against this union with the Cisalpine Republic, and they

were all shot the next day*. Such has been, and will always be, the conduct of revolutionary Frenchmen wherever they penetrate. Of the timid and cowardly they make slaves—of the traitors, friends—the patriots they butcher—the rich they pillage: plots generally precede them—tyranny enters with them—ruin and wretchedness remain behind them; and the curses or detestation of the good and the virtuous, of the religious and of the moralists, accompany them both under their triumphal arches and to their graves.

In November, when Buonaparte left Italy, and according to the treaty of Campo Formio, a congress for the pacification, or rather partition, of the German Empire, was assembled at Rastadt, he went by way of Switzerland, where he sent Murat to prepare for his reception, and to gain information of the public spirit, previous to executing the plans of destruction which the Corsican had formed against this once prosperous Republic. This mission was delicate and difficult, because Buonaparte was disliked and suspected by the Swiss democrats, and despised, if not abhorred by the Swiss aristocrats. Murat, however, by

* Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 362.

by intimidating some by threats, deceiving others by specious promises, and buying over others with a small part of the plunder of Italy, procured his Chief to be received with the same honours as are paid to Sovereigns. Deputations flattered, guns were fired, and cities illuminated; and the deluded Helvetians entertained, treated, feasted, complimented, and extolled a petty villain, to whom, from the scenes of horror that he had just left, their innocence, quiet, and happiness, were not only reproaches, but incitements so much the sooner to bury their independence and riches in the rubbish of Italy and Germany.

Murat was now so greatly advanced in the good graces of his commander, that when the latter chose his companions for the invasion of Egypt, the province of another friendly and neutral state, the former was the fourth upon the list of Generals which he presented, not to the approbation, but for the *information* of the Directory. In Egypt he always attended Buonaparte, and generally dined with him every day. He was of the expedition into Syria in the spring of 1799, and commanded one division, consisting of the cavalry, during the memorable siege

of St. Jean d'Acre, whilst the other four divisions of the French army were headed by Generals Kleber, Regnier, Lannes, and Bon. At the battle of Mount Tabor, on the 16th of April that year, while Buonaparte was burning the *Naplonsian* village, and killing such of the inhabitants as he suspected of having appeared in arms against him, Murat chased the Turks from Jacob's Bridge, and surprized the son of the Governor of Damascus. At the battle of Aboukir, on the 25th of July following, the right wing, consisting of 4000 cavalry, and nine battalions of infantry, with some artillery, was commanded by Murat, who, after their defeat, cut off the retreat of the Turks, who, according to General Berthier's report, *struck with a sudden terror at being surrounded on every side with death, precipitated themselves into the sea, where no less than* TEN THOUSAND *perished by musquetry, grape-shot, and the waves.*

In the next month, when Buonaparte unexpectedly and basely deserted the French army in Egypt, Murat was one of the four Generals whom he selected to accompany him in his flight. On this disgraceful subject General Dugua, at present a Consular Prefect, writes the following

following remarks, copied from his letter to the Director Barras* :—" I shall say but little to you on the departure of the General; it was only communicated to those who were to accompany him: it was *precipitate. The army was thirteen days without a Commander-in-chief. There was not a sous in any of the military chests*; no part of the service arranged; the enemy, scarcely retired from Aboukir, was still before Damietta. I confess to you, Citizen Director, I could never have believed that General Buonaparte would have *abandoned us in the condition in which we were; without money, without powder, without ball, and many of the soldiers without arms. Debts to an enormous amount; more than a third of the army destroyed* by the plague, by the dysentery, by ophthalmia, and by the war; that which remains almost naked, and the enemy but eight days march from us. Whatever may be told you at Paris, this description is but too true." Such are some of the particulars of the last infamous actions of Buonaparte, as a General-in-chief of the army in Egypt, and of which Murat shared the infamy.

When the annihilation of that constitution was determined upon, which Buonaparte had so

* Intercepted Correspondence, part iii. page 158.

often sworn to defend and obey, Murat, in the confidence of his friend, received, first, the command over the posts near the Council of Five Hundred; and, when the Revolution was effected which seated the usurper upon the throne of the Bourbons, the command over the Consular Guard. To bind more firmly those bands which united these two *worthies*, Buonaparte gave him in marriage his sister Caroline Buonaparte, who, in 1797, had been betrothed to General Duphot, murdered in an insurrection provoked by Joseph Buonaparte at Rome, on the 27th of December that year. What had become of Murat's former *sans-culotte* wife is not known for a certainty. In a pamphlet called "*La Sainte Famille*," it is said, that he had been divorced in 1795; and in another pamphlet, "*Lettre d'un gentilhomme Francois à l'usurpateur Corse*," it is reported that she had died of hard drinking.

In the spring of 1800 an army of reserve was collecting near Dijon, under the command of General Berthier, and Murat was appointed one of his Lieutenant-generals. After the negligence of General Melas had permitted this army to cross the Alps and to enter Italy, the Austrians were defeated at Montebello on the 10th of

of June, and the next day General Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, succeeded in driving them across the Bormida. At the battle of Marengo on the 14th, he led on the cavalry, and, though at the onset completely routed, rallied again; and when the valorous General Desaix took advantage of the imbecility of the Imperial General, he, with Generals Marmont and Bessieres, pierced the third and last line of the Austrian infantry; in consequence of which a defeat ensued, and the horse, infantry, and artillery, fled promiscuously towards one of the bridges laid across the Bormida. But such was the undaunted courage of the Imperialists, deserving to be headed by a more able chief, that the rear-guard presented a regular front, though Murat cut many of them to pieces in protecting valorously the retreat of the main body.

On his return to Paris in August, he found the scandalous boasting of his brother-in-law Lucien, concerning an incestuous intrigue carried on with Madame Murat, the common topic of conversation. Three duels during two months were the consequence; and had not the First Consul interfered, and for this and *for some other offences*, removed Lucien from the Ministry of the Interior,

and sent him in disgrace as ambassador to Spain, Murat would either have been divorced from his wife, perished himself, or killed his brother-in-law. Twelve months absence of Lucien, and even an apology on his arrival from Madrid, in 1801, did not produce a reconciliation with Murat, who challenged, fought, and wounded him again. To put an end to these *family quarrels*, Napoleon Buonaparte promoted Murat to the command in chief over the French army in Italy, or, which is the same, made him Viceroy over the Italian and Ligurian Republics, and over the revolutionary kingdom of Etruria. His wife accompanied him; and when he was last December recalled to Paris, Lucien was first sent off to plot at Naples, and afterwards ordered to visit his *senatories* on the Rhine, and to travel in Germany: so *discordant* is yet *the fraternity* between these two brother Septembrizers, of whom may be truly said:

> Il faut rendere justice a l'un et l'autre membre,
> Ils ont été parfaits les deux et trois Septembre.

During Murat's reign in Italy, his manner of living was more expensive and more sumptuous his retinue more brilliant, his staff more showy, his palaces more magnificent, and his guards more numerous, than those of any lawful European Sovereign,

Sovereign, and hardiy surpassed by the Corsican usurper at Paris. He introduced at Milan nearly the same etiquette that prevailed at the Thuilleries and St. Cloud. Madame Murat had her maids of *honour*, her routs, her assemblies, her *petit* and grand *entrée*, her *petits soupérs*, and her *grand circles*; as her husband had his pages, his prefects of palace, his aids-de-camp, his military reviews, his diplomatic audiences, his presentations, his official dinners, his sallies of humour against foreign Ministers, and his smiles of *complaisance* to his minions; with all the other farrago of the pedantic, insolent, affected, but revolutionary *haut ton*, introduced by the upstart and foreign tyrant of the French Republic*.

After Buonaparte's second visit to the army on the Coast, where his Admirals as well as his Generals tried to convince him of the danger, if not the absurdity, of attempting an invasion with his flotilla, which two or three of our small craft kept blocked up†; to occupy the public attention and to divert the discontent which delay or disappointment must excite among his soldiers,

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Brumaire, an xii. No. xi. page 6 and 7.

† See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Ventose, an xii. No. xi.

soldiers, who had already been ten months devouring the riches of Great Britain, and regarding her conquest as easy and certain, a plot was necessary to be invented. The treachery of the spy Mehée, and the impudence and indiscretion of others, unfortunately procured him documents enough to cause his French slaves to think it not only probable but certain. If all occurrences during last winter are remembered, and if the changes and promotions, and every thing else which has been known of his internal as well as external policy, be considered, little doubt remains but that the arrest and disgrace of Moreau, the death of the Duke of Enghien, and the publication of the pretended conspiracy in February 1804, had been determined upon in December 1803. In that month Moreau's base enemy, Jourdan, was nominated Commander-in-chief in Italy, and his impertinent and cowardly calumniator, Junot, Commander-in-chief over the corps *d'Elite* of the Army of England; Louis Buonaparte received a command in the camp on the Coast; Joseph Buonaparte was sent to Brabant, and Murat re-called from Italy to be the Governor of Paris, and Commander of the Army of the Interior.

In this post Murat continues the same pageantry,

geantry, ostentation, profusion, and pomp, as in that he had resigned in Italy; which evinces that he is certain of no resistance in the execution of the revengeful, political, or ambitious schemes of his brother-in-law the First Consul; but that Frenchmen will see with the same indifference, or silent indignation, the condemnation of Moreau, as they did the barbarous murder of the Duke of Enghien; that the French *republicans* will as much applaud the coronation of Buonaparte as Emperor of the Gauls, as the foreign diplomatic corps in France has admired the forgery which a French spy has made of the name of a British Minister.

Murat has 150,000 livres (6000l.) in the month for appointments, as the Governor of Paris, besides hotels furnished at the expence of the Republic for himself, his wife, and his aids-de-camp. 30,000 livres (1250l.) are allowed him for the open table that he keeps for officers on business, or on leave of absence in the capital; and according to a French publication, when Buonaparte assumes the Imperial diadem, he is to be declared a Marshal of France, or rather of the Empire of the Gauls, a place formerly occupied by Princes of the House of Bourbon.

bon. In landed property in France and Italy he has laid out seven millions of livres, and his wife's diamonds are valued at four millions *.

The painful and disgusting task which the Author's loyalty has imposed upon him in delineating this man's life, as well as those of many of his accomplices, is mixed with the satisfaction, that future ages will not be ignorant of the infamous means to which they owe their notoriety, their rank, and riches; and this may probably prevent other ambitious individuals, if they are not entirely deprived of all honourable or moral principles, from attempting to gain advancement and obtain affluence in following their footsteps, by remembering that neither an Imperial sceptre, nor the Staff of Constable, have been able to silence the virtuous indignation of Contemporary writers, from whose evidence they must expect to be judged by an impartial posterity.

There is something romantic in most of these revolutionary lives: had Murat been a good actor, he probably would have figured no where but upon the stage. The hisses which his incapacity as a comedian provoked, changed the scene; and he is become not an indifferent tragedian

* See the same publication, Germinal, an xii. No. iii. page 9.

tragedian upon the great political and military theatre of modern Europe*.

GENERAL

* What the Author has related in this life without quoting his authorities, is taken from *Recueil d' Anecdotes*, from *Dictionnaire Biographique*, *Dictionnaire des Jacobins*, *Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie*, and from *Les Annales du Terrorisme*.

GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU.

A KIND of reputation acquired by the old Field-marshal Count de Rochambeau, during the seven years war in Germany, and during his campaigns in America, as an ally of the revolted subjects of the King of Great Britain, procured from the bounty of Louis XVI. an early advancement for his son, the late Commander at St. Domingo, who, at the age of twenty-five, was promoted to the rank of a Colonel of the regiment called Royal D'Auvergne. Like all other French officers who had imbibed the rebellious and democratical principles of the Americans, Rochambeau joined, in 1789, the standard of revolt erected in his own country, and became a *fashionable* patriot, because he was tormented by an unprincipled ambition to gain notoriety; but possessed neither capacity nor loyalty enough to distinguish himself in quiet times, or as a dutiful subject of the best of Sovereigns.

In 1791, the constitutional faction, then tyrannizing over their King and his councils, procured

cured Rochambeau the rank of a Marshal-de-camp, and he served as such during the campaign of 1792, under General Duke de Biron, and was repulsed with him before Mons, on the 29th April. He was spoken well of in the dispatches of his commander, for the *intelligence* with which he performed the retreat on that day; but, during the remainder of the year no other notice was taken of him, except that, after the desertion of his friend La Fayette, he was rather suspected by the jacobins, until his oath of equality, *in breaking his former oaths of allegiance*, made him worthy to regain their confidence, and fortunately for him, to be appointed Governor of Martinique. Had he remained in France during the reign of Robespierre, there is little doubt but that he would have shared the fate of his accomplices, Biron, de Beauharnois, Custine, and others, and his revolutionary achievements must have terminated in the beginning of their career.

As Governor of Martinique, Rochambeau conducted himself in such a manner, that when the English, on the 14th of March, 1794, captured its principal town, St. Pierre, they were received by the inhabitants as deliverers, rather than as enemies. But on all occasions, while

the

the attacks on the different forts continued, Rochambeau exhibited oftener the little mind of a vain man in a private station, than the necessary talents for a commander, or the liberal sentiments of a true patriot. Sir Charles Grey, on the 7th of March, by a well conducted attack, during a *sortie* by the mulatto General Bellegarde, seized on the heights of Sourriere, a post under the command of the latter; who, perceiving his camp in possession of the English, endeavoured to enter Fort Bourbon, with a view of contributing to its defence; *but notwithstanding the small number of the garrison, he was repulsed by General Rochambeau, who was at enmity with him, and obliged to throw himself into the hands of the English*, by whom he and his companions were immediately sent to America. To this impolitic, if not cruel transaction, many ascribe the necessity under which Rochambeau felt himself in a fortnight afterwards, to capitulate and surrender the whole island to the enemy. This General was so well aware of what awaited him in France, that whilst all his countrymen were made prisoners of war, he stipulated for himself, by a *secret* article, permission to go to America, where he resided with Talleyrand, and other intriguers of the constitutional

tional party, until the guillotine was no longer the order of the day in the French Republic.

In January 1796, he was, by the Directory, nominated Governor-General of St. Domingo, where he arrived on the 11th of May. He had under his command Generals Laveaux, Toussaint Louverture, and Rigaud. He was, besides, accompanied by the four National Commissaries, Santhonax, Le Blanc, Giraud, and Raimond, and a number of officers and gunners, destined to instruct and form regiments of mulattoes and negroes, to combat the English occupying the different points of that island. But, instead of acting against the common enemy, Rochambeau disagreed and quarrelled, not only with all the other Generals, but even with the civil commissaries, who deprived him of his command, and sent him home as a prisoner to France; where, soon after his arrival, he was, by order of the Directory, put under arrest, and shut up among some terrorists in the castle of Ham. In a short time, however, he recovered his liberty, with orders to justify himself at Paris, which he did in a manner rather to obtain forgiveness than to deserve future employment. For the remaining part of the Directorial usurpation, he was condemned

demned to obscurity: a severe punishment for an ambitious, revolutionary intriguer.

When Buonaparte, under the name of a First Consul, had proclaimed himself the king of a faction in France, and determined to employ and cajole every man of family or ability who had figured in the bloody annals of the French Revolution, Rochambeau was called forward, and, with General Suchet sent to defend, with 20,000 men, the principalities of Oneilla, St. Remo, and the county of Nice; but these Generals, at the approach of the Austrians, instead of resisting, after placing garrisons in the forts, retreated beyond the Var, and employed themselves in preventing the enemy from entering Provence; which, not their vigorous measures, but the unexpected and undeserved victory at Marengo, alone effected.

After the preliminaries with England, when Buonaparte, to gain a commercial as well as a military renown, sent out his brother-in-law, the terrorist Le Clerc, as Captain-General of St. Domingo, Rochambeau, from his knowledge of the country, was chosen his second; and the son of a nobleman, who, in 1789, was a Colonel, accepted the command under

the son of a miller, who, in 1789, was a common soldier.

The campaign of St. Domingo will probably increase the revolutionary laurels of Citizen Rochambeau, who now carries with him the same curses from that island, as in 1794 from Martinique; and therefore, if the policy of Buonaparte demands no victims to pacify the manes of his butchered *white* and *black* slaves, he undoubtedly merits as distinguished a place in the Legion of Honour, as either Augereau or Fouché, Santerre or Sieyes.

This justice must, however, be done to General Rochambeau, that he has been alike constant and faithful to all former republican factions, when popular and powerful, as to the present Consular one, which he certainly will not desert so long as it disposes of places and pensions. But should Buonaparte once share the destiny of his predecessors the former kings of factions, La Fayette, Brissot, Marat, Robespierre, Rewbel, and Barras, Rochambeau's revolutionary conscience will certainly not be an impediment to joining his successors; he will, doubtless, fight their battles, cringe in their anti-chambers, bow at their levees, and execute their orders, were they even to command him to transport the whole Buonaparte family to Cayenne.

GENERAL

GENERAL BOYER.

At Civrac and St. Christoly, in the department of Gironde, still exists a noble family of the name of Boyer, one of whom was guillotined in December 1793. Another person, from the same department, of the name of Boyer-Fonfrede, figured in the French Revolution during 1791 and 1792, as a patriotic Jacobin; and, as such voted in the National Convention for the death of Louis XVI., but was sent in his turn to the scaffold by the jacobins of 1793. To neither of these is General Boyer related. He was born at Paris in 1771; where his father, a citizen in easy circumstances, was enabled to give him a good and careful education.

Young Boyer joined with enthusiasm, in 1789, the subverters of Government, and served early a Revolution which promised advancement to the ambitious, employment to the active, plunder to the rapacious, and rank to all unprincipled intriguers. At the forming of the National Guard

Guard at Paris, he was chosen one of its officers. Employing with assiduity and genius all his time to gain military knowledge, he soon distinguished himself by his capacity: in 1793 he was made a Colonel, and in 1794 an Adjutant-General in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by General Jourdan. He fought bravely at the famous battle of Fleurus, and caused himself afterwards to be particularly remarked in the engagements which took place in the month of July, at Hui and St. Tron. During the remainder of this (for the misfortune of loyalty) brilliant campaign for rebellion, he was always foremost in dangers, and obtained the esteem of his superiors and equals, as well as of his inferiors. Even General Clairfayt spoke well of his manœuvres, and of his conduct toward those Austrians whom the fortune of war made his prisoners; and as the praise of an enemy cannot be suspicious, it would be ungenerous, when he is in the same situation, to conceal this trait of his character, though perhaps hardened since by the examples of the ferocious Buonaparte, and by the rivers of blood which he himself afterwards waded through in Italy, Egypt, and St. Domingo.

In 1795, when France determined to act upon

the offensive on the other side of the Alps, Citizen Boyer was sent to serve in the army of Italy, where Buonaparte often mentions him in the reports to the Directory, for his talents and bravery; and where he, on the 14th of April, 1796, contributed greatly to the victory at Dego. He was, in the autumn of the same year, attached to the division commanded by General Kilmain; which, by its vigilance, courage, and perseverance, effected principally the fall of Mantua in February 1797; and a friendship was then formed between him and this General, which continued to the death of the latter.

When, after the peace of Campo Formio, Buonaparte received from the Directory a *carte blanche* to elect all the officers and troops that he desired should accompany him to Egypt, in his attack and pillage of provinces belonging to a friendly Power, protected by treaties of two centuries standing; Adjutant-General Boyer was one of the first officers of that rank, whom he ordered to join the expedition then preparing at Toulon.

After the landing in Egypt, General Boyer was among those who stormed the defenceless city of Alexandria. Of the letters intercepted by our cruizers, two are from this General, dated

dated Cairo, July 28, 1798: the one addressed to General Kilmain, and the other to his parents. In these are reported some of the atrocities of Buonaparte, and of his armed banditti. "We began," says Boyer, "by making an assault upon a place *without any defence*, and garrisoned by about 500 Janissaries, *of whom scarce a man knew how to level a musket*. I allude to Alexandria, a huge and wretched skeleton of a place, *open on every side*, and most certainly very unable to resist the efforts of 25,000 *men, who attacked it at the same instant*. We lost, notwithstanding, 150 men, *whom we might have preserved by only summoning the town; but it was thought necessary to begin by striking terror into the enemy.*" And again "Repulsed," continues he, "on every side, the Turks betake themselves to God and their prophet, and fill their mosques—*men, women, old, young children at the breast,* ALL *are massacred*. At the end of four hours, the fury of our troops ceases, *tranquillity* revives in the city, several forts capitulate. *I myself reduced one*, into which 700 Turks had fled: *confidence* springs up, and by the next day all is quiet."

In the march from Alexandria to Cairo, Buonaparte ordered Boyer with three armed sloops to pick up some intelligence. Of this expedition

the latter gives the following account, in his letter to his parents: "With this little flotilla I advanced about three leagues in front of the army. I landed at every village on both sides of the Nile, to gain what information I could respecting the Mamelukes. In some I was fired at, in others received with kindness, and offered provisions. I took advantage of the *goodness* of these *good* people, collected all the information I could, and, continuing my route up the Nile, came to anchor for the night opposite a village called Chebriki, where the Mamelukes were collected in force, and where the first action took place. I sent off my dispatches that night. As soon as the day broke, I clambered up the mast of my vessel, and discovered six Turkish shallops bearing down upon me; at the same time I was reinforced by a demi-galley. I drew out my little fleet to meet them, and at half after four a cannonade began between us, which lasted five hours: in spite of the enemy's superiority, I made head against them; they continued nevertheless to advance upon me, and I lost for a moment the demi-galley, and one of the gun-boats. Yielding, however, was out of the question; it was absolutely necessary to conquer; in this dreadful moment our army came up; and I was disengaged,

disengaged. One of the enemy's vessels blew up. Such was the termination of our naval combat."

Of these two letters, that to General Kilmain is from a master-hand, confident of knowledge, and deciding on fact, without periphrasis or affectation. It is from an experienced officer, giving an account to his superior, whom he neither dared, nor, perhaps, wished to deceive, of such operations as fell under his immediate inspection. The other, to his parents, is also well written, and with a sufficient knowledge of the transactions it records; and, except some few geographical and historical blunders, does honour to his abilities, though it is defective in simplicity and manly decision, and deals out his little modicums of information in a style of gravity and self-importance, as if destined to be published in some Parisian Gazette, to proclaim him to the cockneys or gossips of France as a man of consequence.

During the remainder of the occupation of Egypt by his countrymen, Boyer was employed in the division under General Desaix in Upper Egypt; and, on his return to France, was made a General of Brigade, and, as such, sent with the army under Le Clerc to St. Domingo.

On his return from this colony last summer, he was captured by our cruizers, and is said to have lost on this occasion, several thousand dollars, which he claimed as his private property. This, no doubt, made him forget himself, and to speak and act in a manner, which did not procure him either the compassion or the esteem of those who heard him during the first months of his captivity in this country. Knowing that his insulting boasts and threats deserved at least to be reprimanded, Buonaparte, judging the proceedings of our Government after his own vile and revengeful character, with his usual precipitancy believed the rumour of General Boyer's imprisonment, and in consequence shut up in the castle of Lourdes, Lord Elgin, a traveller, arrested contrary to the law of nations, as reprisal for a General enjoying a large share of British generosity and hospitality, though a prisoner, both according to the laws of war and of nations *.

Of

* Of this business, General Boyer sent the following explanation :

LETTER FROM GENERAL BOYER TO LORD EARDLEY.

" MY LORD,

" I received the letter you did me the honour to write me, and I lose not a moment in answering it, in order to bear testimony to truth.

" The orders given by the French Government to use repri-

sals

Of General Boyer's achievements in St. Domingo, little is mentioned in the official reports. But in some publications in an evening paper, concerning the cruelties of Buonaparte's *white slaves* at St. Domingo, is mentioned one General Boyer, who, *for some pilfering*, ordered his cook to be devoured by blood-hounds. It is to be supposed that this is not that General Boyer now prisoner in England, but some other republican General of the same name.

sals against the English prisoners of distinction in France, could only have been occasioned by my departure from Tiverton, and the order of the English Government which confined me to Castleton, in the mountains of Derbyshire. That order, however, having been revoked in seventeen days, and being now at Chesterfield, it is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to do the most merited justice to the inhabitants of that town, all of whom feel towards the French prisoners of war the sentiments due to misfortune.

" As soon as I was removed from Castleton, I immediately wrote to France; and I have no doubt that the French Government is, by this time, apprised that, far from being treated with rigour, I experience from the magistrates and inhabitants, the protection of the laws, and the feelings which distinguish generous minds.

" Accept, my Lord, the sentiments of high consideration with which I have the honour to be,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble, and most obedient Servant,

(Signed) " The French General, BOYER."

" Chesterfield, Jan. 7, 1804.

" The Right Hon. Lord Eardley."

ADMIRAL LINOIS.

He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day.

THE impolitic and selfish conduct of most of the Continental Princes, has done as much to advance the power of revolutionary France, as the victories of its soldiers, and the intrigues of its negotiators. Instead of receiving with kindness, and rewarding with generosity, those loyal emigrants who, faithful to their God and to their King, and for the common cause of all lawful Sovereigns, renouncing rank, riches, and a home, became voluntary exiles, and distressed wanderers; the several governments in Germany, Italy, and Spain, treated them not only with contempt, but with injustice and cruelty. An asylum was refused them in most countries, and bread in all. Insulted by their equals in rank, but not in honour or loyalty, ministers gave them up as criminals; the half-learned sophist exposed their poverty upon the stage to common ridicule, the jacobin lawyers and merchants hated

hated them, and the common people hunted them as wild beasts. Neither age, sex, rank, talents, nor a noble firmness and resignation under misfortunes, procured them the esteem of the first classes of society, nor the compassion of the inferior orders. Several of the French officers who had emigrated, or intended to emigrate, returned therefore to their country, or changed their minds. Berthier, Andreossy, Truguet, Macdonald, Maringuy, and other men of capacity, were among the latter; and Linois, Lauriston, and Desaix, among the former.

Linois was made a Lieutenant in the royal navy during the American war, and, in 1789, emigrated with several of his comrades to Italy; which, the next year, he left for Spain. Observing, however, the incomprehensible behaviour and prejudice of foreign governments against all emigrants, he returned to France in 1791, after the unfortunate Louis XVI. had accepted the constitution forced upon him by the rebels of the Constitutent Assembly. In the following year he was promoted to the rank of captain of a frigate, and during the action of the 1st of June, he commanded one of the 74-gun ships which with difficulty escaped into Brest, after Lord Howe had obtained such a glorious

victory. The national deputy, Jean Bon St. Andre, enraged at the defeat, which courage had caused, and not treachery sold, to revenge his disgrace, and, perhaps, to extenuate his own ignorance and cowardice at the Committee of Public Safety, ordered several officers to be arrested, accusing them of not having done their duty. Linois was one of the number; and he remained in confinement until the death of Robespierre opened the doors of the republican prisons for 200,000 *suspected* persons.

Under the Directory, he was employed first at Brest, and afterwards at Toulon; but it was Buonaparte who advanced him to the rank of an Admiral, in 1800. When, in the following spring, it was determined to send succours to General Menou, in Egypt, Linois was offered the command of the squadron intended for this expedition; but he declined it, and Gantheaume was appointed. It was only want of naval officers that prevented Linois' disgrace on this occasion, as with the Corsican tyrant, only to hesitate to execute even the most absurd or impracticable schemes, is regarded as rebellion, and often punished as such.

About June, 1801, Sir James Saumarez, with seven ships of the line, a frigate, and two armed vessels,

vessels, rode in the bay of Cadiz, and intercepted not only the trade with Spain, but between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Buonaparte knew that six sail of large ships were at Cadiz, ready for sea, and seven more in a state of preparation; and therefore ordered Linois to join, with three men of war and a frigate, this Spanish armament. He sailed accordingly but could proceed no farther than off Algesiras, where he cast anchor. No sooner was the British Admiral informed of this event, than he proceeded towards the entrance of the Straits, to attack the enemy. Having made a signal to prepare for an engagement, and also for a general chace, he resolved to reconnoitre Linois' position, and the order of battle was prepared. The squadron led by Captain Hood, of the Venerable, and reinforced by the Calpe, two gun-vessels, and several boats from the neighbouring garrison, on opening Cabareta Point, beheld Linois' squadron, consisting of two ships of 84 guns, and one of 74, with a large frigate, lying at some distance from the very strong Spanish batteries; and when, in addition to this circumstance, the advantage of a leading wind was taken into consideration, an attempt to obtain possession of them not only seemed feasible, but

afforded well grounded hopes of success. The signal was accordingly given for the ships to take their stations, and engage as close as possible. However, the failure of the breeze, at a critical moment, enabled Linois to warp nearer the land, and exposed our armament to the most imminent danger; for the Venerable, instead of weathering the enemy, was under the necessity of dropping her anchor. The Pompée, Captain Stirling, taking advantage of a light and partial air, assumed a position opposite to the inner vessel, which proved to be the Formidable, bearing the flag of Linois, and commenced the action in a spirited and gallant manner, until disabled. Some of the other ships were prevented, for some time, by a failure of wind, from coming up; but at length, the Hannibal, receiving the benefit of the breeze, was endeavouring, by a bold and decisive manœuvre, to get between the French Admiral and the batteries, when she struck on a shoal, immediately under the enemy's guns, and became unmanageable. In this situation, she was reduced to the painful necessity of striking her flag. In the mean time, the English Admiral, finding that the enemy, by drawing closer to the land, had increased their distance, took advantage of an occasional

occasional breeze to approach nearer; it soon after fell calm; they drifted along with the current close to the Island battery, on which they opened a heavy fire. On receiving the benefit of a gentle gale, they instantly prepared to resume their former stations, when the wind once more died away, and rendered all their efforts useless. At length, after an action of nearly five hours continuance, the British squadron retired to Rosa Bay, leaving the Hannibal a-ground, and in possession of the enemy, while two French sail of the line appeared at the same time on shore, and the whole detachment was supposed to be rendered nearly unserviceable.

This action took place on the 6th of July. Seven days afterwards, or on the 13th, by the indefatigable exertions of British officers and seamen, who received every assistance from the garrison of Gibraltar, the whole squadron, one ship only excepted, was nearly refitted and ready for sea, when a new and more propitious opportunity occurred of distinguishing their valour. Linois' three sail of line of battle, disabled in the action, had been reinforced by five more, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, as well as by a French seventy-four carrying a broad pendant. These, together with the Hannibal,

nibal, which was with some difficulty warped into deep water, and a number of Spanish frigates and gun-boats, got under weigh, with an intention of returning to Cadiz; safe, in consequence of their numbers, and assured, as they imagined, of an easy victory, in case of a contest with a detachment so vastly inferior, and which had been so recently foiled. Notwithstanding Sir James Saumarez had no more than five disabled ships of less rate and metal, to oppose more than double that number commanded by Linois, he was determined to avenge the late disaster, and therefore once more hoisted the signal for battle, and followed the enemy, which, at eight o'clock in the evening, cleared Cabareta Point. The brave Captain Keates, having received orders to attack the sternmost ship, and keep between the fleet and the shore, the Superb began the engagement at eleven o'clock at night, by firing on several ships (particularly the Real Carlos), which formed a cluster, and in consequence of the darkness engaged with each other through mistake. The Cæsar, in the course of a few minutes, also began to open on another Spanish three-decker that had hauled her wind; but she was observed to be in flames, and shortly after run on board another vessel of the

the same force to which the conflagration extended with uncommon rapidity; so that, after the lapse of a short but awful period, they both blew up. These proved to be the San Herminigeldo and the Real Carlos, of 112 guns, and 1250 men each; the former carrying the Spanish Admiral's flag, and both officered from the noblest families in Spain. In the mean time, the English Admiral passed on to the assistance of the Superb, Captain Keates, then engaged with the Saint Antonio, carrying the broad pendant of Commodore Le Roy, which had before been silenced, and now struck her colours. After the firing had ceased, it became so dark, that none of the enemy's squadron were visible; the Cæsar, however, continued her course, during a heavy gale, in chace of the remainder of the fleet; and, at the approach of morning, could only discover one French ship, which proved to be Admiral Linois' flag ship, the Formidable, endeavouring to reach the channel leading through the shoals of Conil. Captain Hood attacked her, and, after a spirited engagement, had nearly silenced the enemy, when his mainmast, which had been wounded before, was unfortunately shot away; and a calm ensuing, Linois effected his escape into Cadiz. Such are the particulars

of

of two actions, in the latter of which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and, although the confused state of the whole fleet rendered the victory less difficult, yet the original design of the English Admiral to engage ten sail of the line, two of which were first rates, with one eighty and four seventy-fours, evinces a degree of gallantry which for ever reflects honour on the English name.

Modesty and generosity are always companions of true courage. Linois was always thought an experienced officer, but never a brave man, even during the American war. The numerous Spanish batteries, gun and mortar vessels in Algesiras Bay, besides the want of wind, got into his power the English ship Hannibal. His report to Buonaparte on this occasion, in which no mention is made of batteries, &c. or favourable accidental occurrences, in the most gasconading style, boasts of a victory of three French ships of the line over six English. But this impudent falsehood is not enough. In relating the particulars of the second engagement, he says, that with his ship alone, he drove away four British ships of the line, whilst, in fact, without the accident to Captain Hood's ship, the Venerable, he probably would have dated his report

from

from Gibraltar or Portsmouth, after being forced to surrender his 84 to an English 74. It is true, that Linois had a character to establish, whilst he had no reputation to lose; and chance, and not talents or valour, procured him an opportunity to usurp the pretensions of a hero, whilst his whole conduct was that of a trembling coward. With such a man as Buonaparte, his military slaves have no necessity to be over nice in their official stories; a man who, during his campaign in Italy and Egypt, wrote himself reports containing hardly a word which was not an absurdity, an impossibility, an exaggeration, or a falsehood, cannot find himself offended at being repaid in his own coin.

Immediately after the preliminaries of peace had been signed with England, Linois was appointed to command the French expedition intended to reinforce the troops at the Isle of France, and at the Isle of Bourbon, and to take possession of Pondicherry. He obtained this appointment, because he had formerly served in that part of the world under Count de Suffrein.

When Buonaparte again forced us into war, his object was more to ruin our commerce, than to conquer our territories in the Eastern world. The bravery of Sir Nathaniel Dance,

and

and the dastardly behaviour of Linois, have disappointed his expectations of pillage, and the latter will probably suffer for the noble and unexpected resistance of the former, and of his companions in arms, because General Decaen, Governor of the Isle of France, denounces poor Linois to the vengeance of the Corsican, their common tyrant, in a dispatch inserted in the Moniteur of the 16th of September, 1804. Many had conceived that the French official paper, in its usual style of gasconade and misrepresentation, would announce this shameful defeat as a victory, or at least as a drawn battle; but the case was too strong even for Gallic ingenuity. An impulse is supposed to have been formerly given to the spirit of the British Navy by shooting an Admiral: Buonaparte will, probably, sacrifice Linois to the *glory* of the *great* nation. At least private advices from France say, that orders have already been sent out to Governor Decaen, not only immediately to deprive Linois of the command over the fleet, but to send him home a prisoner by the first safe opportunity.

The following official dispatch deserves to be preserved, as an honourable monument of British heroism, acknowledged even by the most irreconcilable and illiberal of its foes.

Paris,

Paris, Sept. 16, 1804.

MINISTRY OF MARINE AND OF THE COLONIES.

Decaen, Captain-General of the French Settlements Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, to the Minister of Marine, and of the Colonies.

Head-quarters, Isle of France, May 15, 1804.

"I have the honour to announce to you, Citizen Minister, that the Rear-Admiral Linois has arrived in the Road of the Isle of France, the 1st of April, with the vessels Le Marengo, La Semillante, and Le Berceau. This unexpected return naturally excited my surprize, after the information I had received from the Rear-Admiral in his letter, dated Batavia, Dec. 16. After enumerating the naval forces of the English, he says, "As they have many points to defend, their forces must necessarily be divided; and I hope to be able to do them a great deal of mischief, by moving off successively to great distances in different parts of the Indian Seas." And, in a postscript of the 24th of December, "I have just taken in at Batavia six months provisions for the squadron."

"The dispatches of Rear-Admiral Linois, brought you by the Le Belier, must have apprized you of the same, and have flattered you, as it did me, with the hope of the most successful result. I was so confident in the conjectures which

which I had made on the probability of success, that when the squadron was discovered, I multiplied them, in the persuasion that the China fleet had been met, attacked, and the greatest part of it captured. I even supposed that the two other frigates, which were not present, as well as the Dutch brig, which had been placed at the disposal of the Rear-Admiral, had stayed behind to escort the captured vessels, and that Rear-Admiral Linois had pushed forward only to clear the way, and to look out for any English cruizers that might be off the Isle of France. But I was deceived in my expectations, particularly when, upon the return of my aid-de-camp, whom I dispatched to the Admiral, he delivered me a letter from him, beginning thus:—"I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you till the ships of the squadron are under the protection of your batteries; I therefore request you will be kind enough to give orders that we may be admitted into the port as speedily as possible."

"This letter the Rear-Admiral accompanied with a narrative of the cruize of the squadron under his orders. I think it necessary to insert an extract here, and, after you have read it, I request you to judge, Citizen Minister, whether it was not natural, that I should express surprize

at

at Rear-Admiral Linois, when, on the following day, he presented himself with the officers of his squadron to pay their respects to me.

" At day-break of the 14th of January, the men at the mast-head discovered four, eight, and successively twenty-seven sail to the N. N. E. The number of these vessels left no doubt that it was the China fleet. The Admiral* had with him at this moment only Le Berceau and L'Aventurier; the frigates La Belle Poule and La Semillante, having kept under sail, had been carried two leagues to leeward of the ship by the force of the currents and stress of weather on the preceding day. At a quarter past eleven, a detachment of five of the enemy's ships came to reconnoitre the squadron, while the others lay-to. The admiral taking advantage of a squall, which prevented the enemy from seeing our movements, speedily called in his frigates, and kept the wind in line of battle. The squall being over, the five hostile ships formed in a line, and likewise kept the wind. At half past five P. M. the Admiral made a signal, that it being his intention to avoid an engagement in the night, he would wait for day-light to attack the enemy. He, however, endeavoured to get to windward of them.

" If

* Linois writes in the third person.

" If the position of the enemy, during the day, had been but an artifice to impose on us to conceal their weakness, they would have availed themselves of the darkness of the night to endeavour to conceal their retreat from the squadron, and upon that occasion the Admiral might take advantage of their movements. But he was presently convinced that this security was not pretended. Three of their vessels had constantly their lights, and the fleet lay by the whole night, and kept themselves in good order. This position enabled the Admiral to gain the wind, and observe them more nearly. The 26th, at six in the morning, the enemy were within a cannon shot and a half. The calm did not permit the Admiral to undertake any thing against them; but he profited of it to call the Captains of the squadron on board his ship: he informed them, that his intention was to advance against the enemy with the first fair breeze, to menace the centre of their line, and to cut off the vessels in the rear. All the Captains were anxious to second the projects of the Admiral, and informed him of the ardour which prevailed among their crews; and it was not without admiration that we saw in reality some of the sick, then so numerous in our division, quit

quit their hammocks, to drag themselves to the post of battle. At half past seven the enemy hoisted their colours; our squadron also hoisted theirs. *Although near enough to distinguish the vessels of the fleet*, the Admiral could not discover its real force. Twenty of their ships had the appearance of two-decked vessels. *We thought we discovered a frigate*; a sloop of war had a blue flag, so had three other vessels. These made part of eight vessels which seemed more particularly charged with the protection of the convoy. By the information which the Admiral had obtained from neutrals coming from China, he had learnt that there were seventeen of the Company's vessels, six country ships, and the brig, in all twenty-four vessels, ready to sail. The three extra vessels which we saw might be the intended convoy. At eight o'clock, the wind having freshened a little, the fleet stood to the south, drawn up in a line. From eight to ten vessels formed a double line to windward of the first. The squadron bore down on the head of the line, carrying all its sails; but the wind having shifted from E. N. E. and at the same time having died away, no longer permitted the Admiral to stand to windward. At length, at noon, taking advantage of a little breeze, he made all ready

to

to cut off the two vessels in the rear of the enemy's line.

"Scarcely was his manœuvre perceived, when five ships of the double line attempted to get to leeward, and fell upon the division. It then became necessary to change the plan of attack, and to avoid being placed between two fires: he put to windward to meet the first two ships of the line which had put about, and to attack them.

"At half past twelve, the Marengo fired the first shot, and the engagement commenced immediately after. The nearest of the enemy's ships sustained some damage; but being supported by those which followed, she put herself alongside a-new, and kept up, as well as the rest, a very brisk fire.—The ships which had stood off joined those which engaged the division; and three of them which had been among the first engaged in the action, manœuvred to get round to leeward of us, while the rest of the fleet, coming up with all their sails spread, shewed that their plan was to surround us.

"The enemy, by this manœuvre, had rendered the position of the Admiral very dangerous. The superiority of their force was evident; and there was no longer time to deliberate upon the part

part to be taken to avoid the disastrous consequences of an unequal engagement. The Admiral, availing himself of the smoke which enveloped him, sheered off, and running to E. N. E. got to a distance from the enemy, who continued to pursue him for three hours, firing several broadsides, but out of cannon shot.

"The Admiral was able to remark, during the action, that from six to eight ships of the line fired from their two decks. There is no doubt but that they wished to be attacked, as it was not until the moment of the engagement that they shewed their upper tier of guns. This engagement lasted forty minutes. The enemy's shot generally pointed at our rigging, but did us slight damage. Not one man was wounded.

"As this cruize afforded no farther prospect of advantage for this monsoon, the Admiral resolved on the 16th of February to steer for Batavia. After passing through Gaspard's Straits, the frigate Atalante stood in on the 21st of February towards the squadron. On the 25th it came to an anchor at Batavia. Vice-Admiral Hartsinck, commanding two men of war and a frigate, recently arrived from Europe, was likewise at anchor in the road. The limited instructions of that officer would not permit him to undertake any

expedition against the enemy, by combining his forces with those of the Admiral.

" In five days the squadron had taken in water and six months provisions; it had likewise taken on board refreshments for the sick, the number of whom on board the Marengo alone amounted to 70.

" The Admiral wishing to accelerate the sale of the prizes, the Admiral Rainier and the Henrietta, after consulting the captains of the squadron, accepted the proposal made him by the Shabendar, to purchase the two prizes and their cargo for the sum of 133,000 piastres, exempt from all deductions. The Council of the Government, out of respect to its allies, permitted the money to be exported by the squadron.

" On the 4th of March the squadron weighed from Batavia, and found that of Admiral Hartsinck at anchor under North Island: it had set off four days before. In standing into the Strait of Sunda the French squadron was becalmed; and being carried away by the excessive violence of the currents, it was for some time in considerable danger. A small anchor belonging to the Belle Poule, was fortunately the only loss that it sustained. On the 6th, having cleared the Strait of Sunda, the Admiral dispatched

dispatched the frigates Belle Poule and Atalante on a cruize, and, keeping with him the Semillante and Le Berceau, steered for the Isle of France, where he arrived on the 1st of April."

Linois is between forty and fifty years of age, a gentleman by birth, and from his youth educated for the navy.

J. J. R. CAMBACERES,

THE SECOND CONSUL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, AND ARCH-CHANCELLOR OF THE EMPIRE OF THE FRENCH, &c. &c.

Ce renegat, a barbe grise,
De Robespierre ancien patron,
Porte empreinte la paillardise
Sur sa figure de Guenon.

AUGUSTE DANICAN.

BEFORE the Revolution, while he was a Counsellor of the Parliament of Toulouse, Cambaceres caused himself to be remarked for his extravagant political principles, for his dangerous atheistical notions, and for his unnatural debauchery*. In

* The unnatural propensities of Cambaceres are in France as proverbial as those of Barras. In a work called *Les Brigands Demasqués*, by Danican, page 138, are these verses concerning this Arch-chancellor:

Si vous avez peau douce et fine
Et chûte de reins d'Apollon,
Vite il vous suit à la sourdine
Il vous attrape et sans facon,
Du plat d'une maine pateline,
Il vous caresse le menton;
La luxure adoucit son ton
De petits noms doux il vous nomme,
Et meme en plein jour il est homme,
A *Vilétiser* son garçon.

In 1789, during the elections of Deputies for the States General, he intrigued in vain to be nominated. He was not more successful in 1791, in his attempt to be elected into the Legislative Assembly; but in 1792, after the overthrow of the throne and the imprisonment of Louis XVI, when brigands governed, plundered, and murdered with impunity—when every loyal man had emigrated, was imprisoned, or concealed, Cambaceres was without opposition, chosen a representative in the National Convention for the department of Herault. From his earliest youth destined for the bar, and having for years, as a Counsellor of Parliament, been accustomed to legal transactions, he was chiefly occupied by this Assembly in such of its committees as were busy in revising or proposing the civil and criminal laws. On the 12th of December, 1792, he was appointed by the National Convention, one of its Commissaries to be sent to the Temple, to demand of their unfortunate King the names of those persons whom his Majesty desired should defend and plead for him, during a trial where an assembly of rebels and regicides had the sacrilegious audacity to arraign their lawful Sovereign, and to condemn and murder him as a criminal. On the day when the mock sentence against this virtuous

Prince was pronounced, Cambaceres voted his provisional detention; and death, in case the French territory was invaded by the *leagued crowned tyrants*.

During the reign of Robespierre he courted the protection of that republican Anthropophage, either by attending with assiduity to his duty in the committees, or by a silent vote in favour of all the atrocious laws and measures proposed by the Committee of Public Safety. He, by these means, escaped proscription. It was, however, observed, even by the vile and vicious members of the regicide Convention, that on all occasions he took an opportunity to produce motions or persuade determinations in favour of libertinism, immorality and licentiousness. On the 30th of October, 1793, he caused a decree to be sanctioned, by which all illegitimate children obtained the same rights to succeed to the estates, property, and names of their parents and relatives, as those born in lawful wedlock: on another day, a plan of his for licensing divorces on account of *the incompatibility of tempers*, was converted into a law. The consequence of the first decree was, that within six months every family in France possessing property, was attacked by some pretended bastard or other, who desired

desired to share it; and according to Prudhomme, "The admission of divorces for incompatibility of temper, has *alone* made two millions of orphans, and caused a total dissolution in the morals of the people, extending to all classes, more difficult to correct than the anti-social effects of the writings of Voltaire, Helvetius, and other atheistical writers or metaphysical dreamers*."

On the 21st of August, 1793, he was elected a member of the commission which was charged by the National Convention to compile a new code of laws. With his usual prudence, he made this employment an excuse for not taking any active part in the divisions which at that period distracted this Assembly, and was therefore not implicated in any of those bloody scenes provoked or committed by different factions. After the death of Robespierre he first shewed a desire to be remarked, and an ambition to obtain places, if not popularity. In discussing, on the 11th of August, 1794, the question relative to the organization of the committees, he insisted upon the necessity of not granting any of them the right to dispose of the liberty of the representatives of the people. On the 10th of November following, when the seventy-three

 Conventional

* See Histoire des Crimes, par Prudhomme, tom. v. page 96.

Conventional Deputies, arrested by the orders of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety, recovered their liberty, he demanded an amnesty for all *crimes not mentioned in the criminal code*. Being afterwards appointed a member of the Commission of Twelve for framing the plan of the new constitution, he was, with Boissy d'Anglas, Lanjuinais, and Sieyes, regarded as one of the authors of the very directorial constitution of 1795, which he assisted Buonaparte to overturn in 1799. It is true, he had been disappointed in his ambition of being one of the Directors, and by a discovery that he had duped the Royalists as well as the Jacobins, in flattering them by turns, he had become the detestation of them both; and therefore, from necessity as well as from vengeance, he joined a man, the chief of a new, or the Consular and revolutionary aristocratical faction, which he foresaw would sooner or later crush or swallow up all the former ones.

With Buonaparte he has long shared the curses of the Parisians, because, if the former butchered 8000 of them in the streets of Paris on the 6th of October, 1795, the advice of the latter, in the united committees of the expiring Convention, made such an act and a civil war

almost

almost unavoidable. In the night preceding that day, the majority of the members in these committees intended to revoke the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, which in a tyrannical manner deprived the French citizens of their right to chuse their representatives, and which had forced the Parisians to arm in defence of their violated privileges, while Cambaceres alone opposed such an intention with a threatening obstinacy. "We are lost," said he, "if we return on our steps; whether the decrees are, or are *not, just*, and *according to lawful principles*, it is not that which we have now to consider about or to examine. I say again, a retrograde step destroys us all." The terror of his own guilty conscience was soon extended and communicated to those of his accomplices: the butchery on the next day was the consequence, and 8000 innocent men, women, and children perished, because 500 rebels and regicides were trembling at the apprehension of those gibbets which they knew they so well merited *.

When the Council of Five Hundred had succeeded the National Convention, Cambaceres was made its first secretary, a temporary place,

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 466; and Les Brigands Demasqués, page 138, and 139.

but little calculated to gratify the ambition of a man who pretended to be not only one of the sovereigns over this Council, but over all France, as a Director. From that time, he gave out with Sieyes, that the Directorial Constitution was not perfect enough for the honour, liberty, and happiness of Frenchmen, and for the tranquillity of the French commonwealth; and, as the guillotine was no longer the order of the day, he more openly joined the discontented and the factious, though at the same time paying an assiduous court to the Directory, by attending the levees of Barras, Carnot, Rewbel, and La Reveillere. In October 1796, he was in consequence elected a member of the Diplomatic Committee, charged to examine the treaty which Buonaparte had but lately, in the name of the Directory, concluded with the King of Naples; and in November he became a member of the National Institute. The reflections that he delivered in his speech, at the first sitting of that society of revolutionary *savans*, with respect to the classification of the several branches of science, and the order of the correspondence, were replete with good sense, and adopted accordingly; and many began to think him possessed of a mind equally capable of embracing literary

as

as political transactions. It was soon discovered, however, that this speech had been composed by La Harpe, as a grateful return to Cambaceres for having reversed the outlawry against him of 1795, when he was inculpated in the opposition of the armed Parisian sections *.

In 1797 he vacated his seat in the Council of Five Hundred, and intrigued to succeed Merlin of Douai, in the place of a minister of justice, when the latter, after the revolution of the 4th of September in favour of the jacobins, had succeeded Barthelemy as a Director: but Rewbel, who at all times had declared himself his personal enemy, excluded him; and it was not till July 1799, when Rewbel was no longer a Director, that he obtained this ministry, in which he continued until Buonaparte, in the December following, advanced him to be Second Consul †.

Cambaceres was born at Montpelier, in 1750, where his father was a Counsellor in the *Cours des Aides*, and his uncle, the famous Abbé Cambaceres, afterwards Chaplain to the King, a Canon and Archdeacon. He is of middle size, and a thin, pale, or rather sallow complexion; and his constitution is worn out by his debau-

* Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 467.

† Histoire Secrete du Directoire Geneve, 1800, page 24.

cheries. At a dinner with the banker Recamier, in the spring of 1802, where Generals Moreau and Macdonald, with several other republican civil and military characters, were present, the author heard it declared, as the uncontradicted opinion in France, that of all the citizens who had figured in the regicide National Convention, Cambaceres was the *purest* and *most respectable!*

THE

THE GRAND JUDGE REGNIER,

GRAND OFFICER OF BUONAPARTE'S LEGION OF HONOUR.

Ma fois! Juge et plaideurs, il faudroit tout lier.

RACINE.

It is difficult to say which is the most disgusting in the revolutionary annals of France, the barefaced unfeeling injustice and cruelty with which French republican judges have condemned innocence, or the shocking indifference with which the French nation has seen dragged to the scaffold, virtue of all ranks, of all classes; the monarch from his throne; the nobles from their palaces; the priests from their altars; the merchants from their warehouses; and the peasants from their cottages. Persons of both sexes, of all ages, have been judicially murdered: on the borders of eternity at fourscore, or in the spring of life, before youth had counted three lustres: the most pure, the most irreproachable life availed nothing: eighty years of honour and of probity did not preserve any

one

one from perishing like a criminal; boys and girls under twelve years of age have been unmercifully butchered, when they could hardly distinguish between right and wrong; what in civilized nations is punishable as guilt, or even among barbarians, is respected and protected as innocence. These horrid deeds have introduced into France a confusion of ideas advantageous to real malefactors, because the public opinion and the public compassion are yet always uncertain, whether the condemned be culpable or innocent; a victim of the violated laws of his country, or of the caprice, cruelty, or vengeance of outrageous factions in power.

Regnier is the son of a waggoner near Nancy, in the former duchy of Lorraine. Educated by the Jesuits from charity, and by a subscription of some noble families at Nancy afterwards enabled to pursue the study of the law, the French Revolution found him an humble advocate of little practice and less talent. By his political and religious hypocrisy, he had persuaded both the nobility and the clergy that he was not only a loyal subject, but a sincere christian; and the united interest of these, the two first orders of the State, procured him in 1789, his election as a Deputy of the *Tiers Etat* to the States

States General, soon after called, and better known by the appellation of the Constitutent Assembly.

This Assembly contained a most heterogeneous composition of men of talents and of ideots; of princes of the blood, and of persons from the very dregs of the people; of the wealthiest proprietors in the kingdom, and of individuals not possessing an acre of land, or a revenue, in money, of the value of a guinea. The majority were, unfortunately for France and Europe, of the latter description. Ambitious, unprincipled, and half-learned, they were all greedy for power, passionate for riches, eager to usurp places, desirous to humiliate rank, and voracious to plunder wealth. Their pretensions were as absurd as their conduct was criminal. To be enabled to rule, or rather to tyrannize, they assailed all governments with sophistical declamations in favour of liberty; and to remove the only barrier to human passions, they published writings, or pronounced speeches, in which religion was made not only ridiculous, but odious; well knowing, that as long as the mass of the nation revered the faith of their ancestors, and respected the altars of Christ, individuals of factions might secretly undermine, but could not expect

expect any support in an open attack on the throne of their King.

Pretended philosophers, they were political and revolutionary fanatics, the most intolerant, despotical and ferocious of men; and while proclaiming principles of universal philanthropy, they endeavoured to plunge a dagger into the bosom of every person who was not an accomplice, who disapproved of their doctrine, or who detested their enormities. Among these men, Regnier conducted himself with a duplicity which he called prudence; because he deceived all parties, while he was cajoled and paid by them all. He was, however, both from birth and inclination attached to those innovators who, like himself, had no property to preserve, and no morality to prevent them from regarding all the riches of France as their patrimony. In October 1789, therefore, he was chosen by the National Assembly a member of the Financial Committee; and in May 1799, of that of Legislation. But he never declared himself in any decided manner, either in defending the prerogatives of his King, the rights of his benefactors of the privileged classes, or the anarchical and destructive opinions of conspirators, rebels,

and

and atheists. On the 22d of June, 1791, he was sent as a representative of the people to the departments of the Rhine and of Vosges, to keep up the public spirit in favour of the Revolution, and to prevent an insurrection, which the National Assembly apprehended would be the consequence of the unfortunate departure from Paris of the betrayed Louis XVI. and his family at that period. Except some few arbitrary imprisonments and requisitions, he acted during this mission with moderation; being yet, from the sentiments that he heard expressed every where by the majority of the inhabitants, uncertain whether loyalty would not finally crush rebellion.

At his return to Paris, La Fayette, the two brothers Lameth, Talleyrand, Barnave, Sieyes, and the other leading members of the Assembly, had been bought over by the Court; and to wear his crown of thorns some few months longer, the good, but ill-advised Louis XVI. had enriched instead of punishing those traitors, to whom alone he owed all his sufferings, and his subjects all their misery. Of these spoils of royalty, Regnier, no doubt, had his share; because, after the King, in September of the same year, had been forced to accept that code of royal democracy

democracy decreed by the Constituent Assembly, he went back to his province, and suddenly exhibited an affluence which was an humiliating and dishonourable contrast to the distressed situation of those plundered, beggared, or proscribed noblemen and gentlemen, to whom he was indebted for every thing, except his ill-gotten riches.

Want of gratitude has been complained of at all times and in all countries; but at no period have been related, and no where have been witnessed, so many examples of ingratitude as since the Revolution in France, where the benefactor has not only been neglected and insulted, but often murdered; and that for no other reason than the remembrance of past generosity, and the claim that it carries with it, and to which it is entitled. With the purse-proud national robbers, egotism is prevalent even in regard to their secret, private, or internal feelings; and death is their sentence on those who have known them beggars, relieved their necessities, encouraged their talents, or rewarded their industry. Not only all benevolent men, but all persons in power in France, from the King to Barras, have experienced during these last fifteen years the truth of this remark. Robespierre, as well as Fouché,

Talleyrand

Talleyrand as well as Tallien, have directly or indirectly sent to perish, those who protected or instructed their youth—who paid for their education, or who procured their advancement. And if Buonaparte has not, like the regicide assassins of Louis XVI. murdered his benefactor Barras, the life of this guilty man is connected with circumstances which make it politic for the usurper to spare him, and to be satisfied with having disgraced and exiled him, after quietly occupying his revolutionary throne.

Hitherto Regnier had been looked upon as a man of moderate rather than of violent notions; as more avaricious than sanguinary; as an intriguer, but not as an assassin. But meeting with a well-deserved contempt, when with the insolent airs of an upstart, he pretended to an impertinent familiarity with his former patrons, and expected an equality which fortune every where has the audacity to require from suffering, though meritorious rank and eminence, he entirely threw off the mask, became a terrorist—a President of the Revolutionary Committee at Nancy, and, as he signed himself, *one of the purveyors for the republican guillotine of the department of La Meurthe*; and among those whom he thus provided for, and recommended to inevitable destruction, were

were two noblemen who generously articled him as clerk to an attorney, who had elevated him, and paid for his board and lodging during eight years; and three old Jesuits of that college where he charitably, though with so little profit, had been taught the duties of a christian and of a citizen*.

In "*Les Annales du Terrorisme,*" page 93, is a letter from Regnier to the *republican hero,* Maximilian Robespierre, dated Nancy, April 2, 1794, in which he says:—"I too worship Marat, and kneel before the goddess of reason. I too adore the sublime principles of the Mountain. I too have dispatched 62 noble aristocrats, and 86 aristocratical priests, for the scaffold. I too have arrested 496 suspected persons, and demanded the heads of 942 lukewarm patriots or federalists, who have refused from my hands *the diadem of republican patriotism—the red cap!* I too have ordered all our sittings to begin with *Sancte Marat! ora pro nobis*; and to finish with "*The Mountain for ever!*" &c. &c. In "*Recueil d'Anecdotes,*" page 33, he is PROVED "*to have murdered two hundred persons,* amongst others, *an old blind man, aged eighty-four; and a young lady, Mademoiselle*

* See Dictionnaire des Jacobins, tom. xi. page 160, and le Rapport du Courtois, page 29.

Mademoiselle de Fresnoy, aged thirteen, whom he violated before he ordered her to be guillotined; and to have appropriated upwards of two millions of livres worth of national property, in his sequestrations of the estates and effects of emigrants." This is an authentic, though only a slight sketch of the *patriotic* transactions of the Consular Grand Judge during the reign of terror. But his revolutionary consistency was no greater than his revolutionary humanity. Prudhomme in his General History mentions, "That no sooner was Robespierre dead, and the Jacobins and Sans-culottes out of fashion, than Regnier exchanged the dress of a *Septembrizer* for that of a *Muscadin*, and of the prayers to Marat were made hymns to royalty: from August 1794, to February 1795, he never went out of his house but with a white cockade in his pocket, while he wore a tri-coloured one in his hat."

In 1795 he was nominated by the department of Meurthe a member for the Council of Ancients, where he appeared very often in the tribune; and always opposed moderate, liberal, or just measures. In November of the same year, he was chosen Secretary, and in February 1796 President of the Council. Observing, however, that after the Revolution in favour of the Jacobins

bins in 1797, the Terrorists again wished to revive the reign of Robespierre, to denounce, to imprison, and to butcher *en masse*; he re-assumed his former *prudence*, and *silently* followed the violent current of contending factions, which then carried every thing before it. But in attending the levees of Rewbel and Barras he took care to flatter Buonaparte, to bow to Talleyrand, to praise Jourdan, and to compliment Moreau.

At the new Jacobin Club of 1799, a member proposed a decree, *obliging all enriched patriots, under pain of death, to render an account of their fortunes.* This created a general alarm among the thousands of rapacious upstarts who had built palaces of the rubbish of the throne, of churches, and of castles; and who weltered in a scandalous affluence in the midst of the great distress of their country, and the universal poverty of all good men, their fellow-citizens; and this made many jacobins, with Regnier, favourable to the Revolution which seated the jacobin Buonaparte upon the republican throne, at the expence of the rights of all other jacobins. He was, therefore, among the conspirators of the Councils of Ancients, who, in a committee, prepared the overthrow of the Directory and of the constitution of the year 3, both which they had

so often sworn to respect and to defend; and in return, he was appointed by the Consular Government, first, a Counsellor of State in 1799, and afterwards, in 1802, when Buonaparte was declared Consul for life, a Grand Judge, and Minister of the General Police of the French Republic. He is, besides, a Senator, and a Grand Officer of the infamous Legion of Honour*, and

* The following particulars of Buonaparte's Legion of Honour are taken from a French publication:

"The number of members of Buonaparte's Legion of Honour is unlimited, and, once chosen by him, *they continue for life, if they continue to possess his confidence.* They are a kind of revolutionary nobility, because, though their children do not inherit their rank and privileges, they have a right to demand, in *preference*, places at the Prytanées, or republican free-schools, admittances into the public offices, and promotions in the army. On all occasions, with *equal* merit, they precede other competitors; and at public feasts or processions they occupy from father to son the places of honour; and a fourth of the national pensions of the fathers descends to the oldest son. The daughters receive their portions from the treasury of the Legion of Honour, if their fathers die poor, and their husbands share their rights of precedency. They are distinguished by some external marks, and all sentries whom they pass are to present arms. All classes of citizens are admitted when approved of by the First Consul; and the cobler who shews any *extraordinary merit* in mending shoes, or the architect in building palaces; the soldier who with *dexterity* dispatches an individual enemy, or the general who defeats a whole hostile army; a pettyfogging attorney *notorious* for chicanery, or a grand judge *famous* for capacity and integrity; the *patriotic* mayor of a village, or the *patriotic* prefect of a department; the *able* drummer in the camp, or the no less *able* fiddler

and unites in his person more power and salaries than five of the King's former Ministers enjoyed together.

Such

fiddler at the opera; the *ingenious* dauber of sign-posts, or the no less *ingenious* painter of the museums; inventors of every kind, colour, and description; the inventor of the guillotine, as well as the inventor of the telegraph; the improver of wooden shoes, as well as the improver of telescopes; the tailor who new-fashions the sleeve of a coat, or the metaphysician who new-models an empire; the industrious of all classes; the *retail* pickpocket in the street, or the banker pilfering *en masse* in his hotel; the village curate, as well as the cardinal archbishop of the capital:—in short, citizens of great merit and great talents, ever so low or ever so high, ever so humble or ever so exalted, have all the *same* claims to be incorporated among the revolutionary nobility of the French republic, *one* and *indivisible*.

According to the official matriculation book (*matricule*), 969 citizens were elected by the First Consul Members of the Legion of Honour up to the first Nivose (December 22). A revolutionary *amateur*, envious, no doubt, at not being one among them, has published *insidiously* the revolutionary merits of all the honourable members of the honourable Legion of Honour; and pretends that this legion consists of 82 regicides, 218 terrorists, 306 moderate jacobins, 74 notorious murderers, 20 condemned thieves before the Revolution, 62 notorious and convicted plunderers since the Revolution, 16 Septembrizers, 22 thieves and forgers burnt on their shoulders upon the pillory, 36 released galley-slaves, 44 drowners *en masse*, 66 shooters *en masse*, and 27 incendiaries.—In the whole, 969 rebels.

We apprehend that this account is rather exaggerated; but we know for certain, that no foreign citizen is yet a member of the Legion of Honour; and that the report of the King of P——, of the Elector of B——, and of the Ministers Haugwitz, Lucchesini, Montgelas, and Cetto, having accepted places in this corps, is *hitherto* without foundation.——*Les Nouvelles à la Main, Nivose* No. ii. page 12.

Such is the imperfectly drawn portrait of a titled rebel, the public functionary of the vilest and most ferocious of usurpers, who has lately excited the public attention by his impudence in placing the Duke of Enghien, and the Generals Pichegru, Moreau, and Georges, upon one (by him called) List of Brigands and Conspirators; and for his audacity in daring to calumniate the British Government and Nation. Such is the moral character of a Grand Judge, the protector of the laws, and the guardian of the lives, liberty, and property, of thirty millions of Frenchmen. Such is the public, political, and revolutionary life of a man, who, in a high official capacity, denounces, in the following Reports to Buonaparte, the pretended immorality, and, as he modestly says—*the despicable* characters of the English Ministry, composed of noblemen and gentlemen whose unblemished virtues as statesmen, even their opposers acknowledge to be equal to their private worth as individuals.

THE GRAND JUDGE'S REPORT TO THE FIRST CONSUL.

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

I think it my duty to separate from the information respecting the vile conspiracy which

public justice will shortly bring to public view, and punish, those pieces of additional correspondence, which, in this great affair, and, as far as concerns the police, is but trifling; but, in its political point of view, seems to me of a nature that cannot fail to open the eyes of Europe to the despicable character of the English Ministry, the meanness of its agents, and the miserable expedients it has recourse to, for accomplishing its views.

An English Minister is accredited at a Court bordering on France; the manners of the people attach distinctions and privileges to this place, and not without reason. The residence of a Foreign Minister is every where designed for the ascertaining and maintaining of those bonds of friendship, confidence, and honour, which unite States, and whose preservation constitutes the glory of a government, and the happiness of the people.

But these are not the views of the diplomatic agents of the British Government. I shall lay before you, Citizen Consul, the direct correspondence which Mr. Drake, the English Ambassador to the Elector of Bavaria, has held for these four months with agents sent, paid, and employed, by him in the heart of the Republic.

This

This correspondence consists of ten original letters, written in his own hand.

I shall also lay before you the instructions which that gentleman is charged to distribute to his agents; and an authentic account of the sums already paid, and of those promised, as an encouragement and reward of crimes, which the mildest laws every where punish with death. (See the instructions, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9, of the correspondence).

It was not as the representative of his Sovereign that Mr. Drake came to Munich, with the title of Plenipotentiary. This is merely his ostensible character, a pretence for sending him: the genuine object of his mission is, to recruit for agents of intrigue, revolt, and assassination, to stir up a war of plunder and murder against the French Government, and to wound the neutrality and dignity of the Government where he resides.

It is premised, though Mr. Drake appears ostensibly as a public character, that he is in reality (as his private instructions prove) the secret director of English machinations on the Continent; the sinews of which are gold, corruption, and the foolish hopes of those con-

cerned in the plot, and of all the ambitious people in Europe.

His aim is plainly pointed out in the eighteen articles of his instructions with which Mr. Drake furnishes his agents, and which form the first of the pieces added to this Report.

Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, and 13, of these instructions, are sufficiently remarkable.

Art. 2. The principal point in view being the overthrow of the present Government, one of the principal means of accomplishing this is, the obtaining a knowledge of the plans of the enemy; for this purpose it is of the utmost importance to begin by establishing a correspondence in the different bureaus, for obtaining particular information of all the plans, both as to the exterior and the interior. The knowledge of these plans suggests the best mode of rendering them abortive; and the want of success is the most effectual means of discrediting the Government, the first and most important step toward the end proposed.

7. To gain over those employed in the powder-mills, so as to be able to blow them up, as occasion may require.

8. It is indispensably necessary to gain over a certain

certain number of printers and engravers who may be relied on, to print and execute every thing that the confederacy may stand in need of.

9. It is very much to be wished, that a perfect knowledge may be gained of the situation of the different parties in France, and particularly in Paris.

13. It is well understood, that every means must be tried to disorganize the armies, both in and out of the Republic.

Thus you see that the real objects of Mr. Drake's mission are, to bring fire and flames into the Republic, to blow up the powder-mills, to procure trusty printers, and engravers for the purposes of forgery, to penetrate into the heart of every assembly, to arm one party against the other, and, in fine, to disorganize the armies.

But, happily, this evil genius is not so powerful in its means, as it is fertile in illusions and sinister projects; were it otherwise, there would be an end of society. Hatred, craft, gold, and a total indifference as to the means employed, are neither wanting to Mr. Drake nor the immoral policy of the Government whose agent he is. But they do not possess power enough to shake the organization of France, which is

of the strongest nature, having its foundation in the affections of thirty millions of citizens, cemented together by their joint strength and interest, and animated by the wisdom and genius of the Government.

Those whose only abilities consist in low intrigue, and who consider nothing of any value besides, are not able to conceive the strength and power of a combination of circumstances, the result of ten years of sufferings, and ten years of victories, of a concurrence of events, and of the establishment of a noble nation, founded on the dangers and efforts of a glorious war, and a terrible revolution.

In the midst of these means, Mr. Drake sees nothing but opportunities for intrigue, and the efforts of spies. "During my stay in Italy," he says to one of his correspondents (Munich Jan. 27, No. 7), "I had connections with the interior of France:—I should continue to have them, as I am at this moment, of all the English Ministers, the nearest to the frontiers."

This is his pretence for exercising his utmost endeavours for the overthrow of France. But his means are no better than his right.

He has agents in whom he dares not confide. His doubtful correspondents write to him

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via Switzerland, Strasburgh, Kehl, Offenburg, and Munich. He has subalterns in these cities, to take especial care of his correspondence. He makes use of forged passports (No. 835), of fictitious names, of sympathetic ink.

(No. 1.) These are the modes of communication through which he transmits his ideas, projects, and rewards; and by these means, he is informed of the schemes planned by his orders for raising insurrection, in the first place, in four departments; (No. 7), for raising an army, increasing the number of the disaffected, and overthrowing the Consular Government.

These efforts and promises are too mad, and the vile miserable methods employed are too disproportioned to the difficulties of the enterprise, to give us any uneasiness as to their success. But it is not with regard to what may occasion fear, nor with a view of punishing, that the operations of that interior arrangement, called the *police*, acts; its principal object is, not alone to prevent crimes, as that of the exterior is to confine ambition, but to remove even the very occasion of vice and weakness.

In those countries that are the best governed, there are always to be found certain persons who suffer themselves to be led astray by a sort of

innate inconstancy. In the best regulated commonwealths there are to be found perverse and weak men. It has always been considered by my predecessors as a duty, to watch over such persons, not in the vain hope of rendering them good, but to stop the developement of their vices; and as, on this head, all civilized nations have the same interest to watch over, and the same duty to fulfil, it has always been a received maxim, that no Government should suffer a standard to be erected, around which hirelings of every country or profession might gather, for the purpose of planning a general disorganization, and much less should they permit an infamous school of bribery, and recruiting, to the prejudice at once of the fidelity, constancy, affections, and conscience of the citizens.

Mr. Drake had an agency at Paris; but other ministers, the instruments of discord and exciters of mischief, like him, may also have agencies.—Mr. Drake, in his correspondence, unmasks all those that exist in France, by the very measures he takes to deny that he knows any thing of them. "*I repeat,*" (says he, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9), "*that I have no knowledge of the existence of any other society besides yours. But I repeat to you,*" (he observes in several places),

"*that if there does, I do not doubt but that you and your friends will take the necessary measures, not only not to embarrass one another, but to be mutually serviceable to each other.*" In fine, he adds (Munich, December 9, 1803), with a brutal fury, and worthy of the part he plays—"*It is of very little consequence by whom the beast is brought to the ground: it is sufficient that you are all ready to join in the chace.*"

Pursuant to this system, on the first breaking out of the conspiracy that now employs the hand of justice, he writes: "*If you see any means of extricating any of Georges' associates, do not fail to make use of them*" (No. 9); and as his evil genius is never discouraged, even in his disgrace, Mr. Drake will not have his friends give themselves up for loss in this unexpected reverse of fortune.

"*I earnestly request you,*" he writes (Munich, 25th February, 1804, No. 9), "*to print and distribute a short address to the army immediately.*" (both to the officers and soldiers). "*The main point is to gain partizans in the army; for I am thoroughly persuaded that it is through the army alone that one can reasonably hope to gain the change so much desired.*"

How vain these hopes were, is sufficiently cha-

racterized by the striking unanimity that prevails every where, now that the danger is discovered with which France was menaced.

But the attempt to commit a crime, the bare idea of which is an outrage to humanity, and the execution of which would not only have been a national calamity, but, I may add, a calamity for all Europe, demands not only a reparation for the past, but a guarantee for the future.

A solitary, scattered banditti, a prey to want, without harmony, and without support, is always weaker than the laws which are to punish it, or the police which ought to intimidate it. But if they have the power of uniting, if they could correspond with each other and the brigands of other countries, if in a profession the most honourable of all, in as much as the tranquillity of empires, and the honour of sovereigns depend thereon, there should be found men authorized to make use of all the power their situation affords, to practise vice, corruption, infamy, and villany, and to raise from out of the refuse of human nature, an army of assassins, rebels, and forgers, under the command of the most immoral and most ambitious of all Governments, there would be no security in Europe for the existence of any state for public morality, nor even for

for the continuance of the principles of civilization.

It is not my duty to discuss the means you may possess to secure Europe, by guaranteeing her against such dangers. I content myself with informing and proving to you, that there exists at Munich an Englishman, called Drake, invested with a diplomatic character, who, profiting of this guise, and of the vicinity of that place, directs dark and criminal efforts to the heart of the Republic; who recruits for agents of corruption and rebellion; who resides beyond the environs of the town, that his agents may have access to him without shame, and depart without being exposed; and who directs and pays men in France, charged by him with paving the way to an overthrow of the Government.

This new species of crime exceeding, from its nature, the ordinary means of suppression which the laws put in my power, I must confine myself to the unmasking it to you, and pointing out to you at the same time the sources, circumstances, and consequences. Health and respect,

Paris, March 23, 1804. REGNIER.

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,

My conjectures are verified. Mr. Drake is

not the only agent of England whose political mission is merely the plausible mark of a hidden ministry of seduction and insurrection. I have the honour to place before your eyes papers which prove that Mr. Spencer Smith, diplomatic agent of England in the states of Wirtemburg, after the example of Mr. Drake, has occupied himself, since his arrival at his place of residence, only in prostituting his public character, his influence, and the gold of his Government, to that infamous ministry.

Mr. Spencer Smith has suffered a discovery of the secret part which formed the real object of his diplomatic mission. I present to the First Consul an enigmatical letter, which this Minister has written to M. Lelievre de Saint Remi, one of his agents in Holland; this agent, spy, and emigrant, who has received his pardon, was already known to the Police; but before I had any one of the parts of his correspondence with Mr. Spencer Smith, I knew by other reports, that when he was about to obtain his amnesty, which he procured in *Pluviose*, year 11, he quitted Séez, his place of birth, in *Nivose*, the same year, in order to go to Cambray; and that, on the 2d of last *Frimaire*, he had gone to Holland, there to serve under the name of Pruneau, and to follow

there

there the double direction of a Frenchman and a spy, named Le Clerc, whom the British Ministry supported at Abbeville, and that of an accredited spy, named Spencer Smith, whom for the purpose of covering his designs, that same Ministry had invested with a diplomatic character. (See the pieces 8, 9, ..., &c.) I further know, by papers equally numerous, and not less instructive, seized on the spy at Abbeville, that Mr. Spencer Smith, before he quitted London, had entered into such intimate connexions with a general Committee of *Espionage* established by the above administration, and the direction of which was entrusted to the Abbé Ratel, that he had demanded and obtained of that Committee a confidential secretary, named Pericaud, who was to follow the secret correspondence, and to receive and communicate all the necessary documents to the agents in Holland, the spies on the coast, and the conspirators in Paris. The letters to Lelievre, the credit for 2000 Louis d'ors given on the house of Osy, at Rotterdam, the cypher, the enigmatical letter, No. 7, are of the hand writing of this Pericaud; and thus it will be seen, that Mr. Spencer Smith is gone to his residence with all the exterior of a diplomatic Minister from England; that is to say, with sympathetic inks, watch-words to

communicate

communicate with all the spies, bills of exchange to reward their services, and a confidential intermediate agent, to follow up their proceedings and to direct them, without committing himself.

It is necessary to recur once more to Mr. Drake. The two reports which I lay before you, Citizen First Consul, will give you an account of a mission to that Minister, by Citizen Rosey, Captain and Adjutant-Major of the 9th regiment of the line in garrison at Strasburgh, whom Mr. Drake was very willing to employ as an agent of a pretended General, who was to stir up four departments, to draw round him the French army, to overthrow your Government, to instal in its stead a democratic Directory, and finally, to put this phantom of power, and all France, at the discretion of the English Government.

I should hesitate to present to you these monstrous absurdities, if I had not to lay before you an original letter from Mr. Drake, backed by considerable sums of gold, counted by Mr. Drake, and deposited at my office by Citizen Rosey. This letter serves as a proof of the accuracy of the reports of the French agent, and ought to be published, because the odious particulars which it contains,

contains, give additional colouring to the picture of infamy which Mr. Drake has himself delineated of his incendiary diplomacy, in the first part of his correspondence.

Mr. Drake replied to the pretended General. He acknowledges the receipt of his Envoy with his credentials. He congratulates himself on the harmony subsisting between him and the Committee of Disorganization, over which the General presides. 'Your views,' says he, complacently, 'are quite conformable to mine, and I need not enlarge further on this point.'

But he requires (and here follows the first vagaries of his predecessor Wickham) that provisionally they should secure two strong places; Huninguen by all means, and Strasburgh if possible.—By this means only could they depend upon a sure communication. Then would Mr. Drake take his residence near the Rhine; and it will suffice to inform him immediately of the moment fixed for commencing the operations, and of the precise periods when farther assistance will be necessary, as well as of the amount of the succours required, that he may have time to take measures to provide for the same, and that the operations may not fail for want of support. (See No. 6.)

How-

However, the most important point is not the taking of places, and securing stages for the safe arrival of subsidies. First of all, we must disorganize the army.

[The Report goes on repeating against Mr. Drake all the calumnies contained in the first Report.]

Concerning Mr. Spencer Smith, I have strong reasons to think that the operations entrusted to him are not confined to these plots; that he directs the events which are taking place in the Canton of Zurich; and that the disturbances by which that miserable district is again agitated, are owing to his gold and his intrigues.

Citizen First Consul, perhaps I transgress the bounds of my function; but I must tell you, with that truth which you love to hear, France cannot suffer a hostile power to establish, on neutral territory, accredited agents, whose principal mission is to carry discord to the bosom of the Republic. You are at the head of a nation, great enough, strong enough, and brave enough, to obtain, as your right, an absolute neutrality. You have constantly commanded me not to suffer that conspiracies be framed in any part of our immense territory, against any existing government; and already, during the

short

short space of time elapsed since I have been entrusted with the administration of the police, have I repeatedly annulled machinations which threatened the King of Naples, and the Holy See; I have pursued as far as Strasburgh the forgers of Vienna bank-notes. All these facts have proved how sincere your wish is to secure established governments against every kind of propagandas and plots. Why should you not have a right to demand an entire reciprocity from the States of the Germanic Empire?—Why should Munich, Stutgard, Ettenheim, and Friburgh, have the right of remaining the centre of the conspiracies which England never ceases to form against France and Helvetia?

These objects deserve your utmost solicitude, Citizen First Consul; and I dare to tell you so, because this privilege belongs to the Chief of Justice, and the most serious attention in this respect forms part of your first duties.

It may be objected, I know, that England, as a friendly power, has a right to send Ministers to the Electors of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemburg. But English diplomacy is composed of two sorts of agents, whom all the Continent well knows how to distinguish. Such Ministers as Cornwallis and Warren, are never accredited

but

but for honourable missions, to maintain a good understanding between nations, and to regulate the grand interests of policy or of commerce; whilst the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, are known throughout Europe as the artificers of crime, whose cowardice is protected by a sacred character. I will say more: the presence of these contemptible agents is very mortifying to the Princes in friendship with France; and the Courts of Munich and Stutgard cannot support, without disgust, Drake and Spencer Smith, whom numberless reasons render suspected of a very different mission from that which is announced by their official title. In consequence of the demand that you have made of them, the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburg have driven from their states the impure remains of the French who are enemies to their country, and whose hatred has survived the calamities of civil war, and the pardon which you have granted them. Let them likewise drive away these artificers of conspiracy, whose mission has no other object but to re-animate the intestine dissensions of France, and to sow fresh discord on the Continent. Ought not our neighbours to suffer an equal alarm with ourselves at the return of political troubles

troubles, and of all those horrors of war, which can be profitable only to that nation which is the enemy of every other?—I demand, in the most earnest manner, and every duty I owe you, Citizen First Consul, impels me to make the request, that the Cabinet may take such effectual measures, that the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, may not be received by any power in friendship with France, whatever may be their title or character; men who preach up assassination, and foment domestic troubles; the agents of corruption, the missionaries of revolt against all established governments, and the enemies of all states, and of all governments. The law of nations does not apply to them. I have fulfilled my duty, Citizen First Consul, in exposing to your view the facts which prove that Drake and Spencer Smith exercise upon the Continent the same mission with which Wickham was charged during the last war. Your supreme wisdom will do the rest.

REGNIER.

Dated Paris, 28th Germinal, in the year 12, April 18, 1804.

Those Continental Governments which have been intimidated or seduced to sign indiscreetly, by their representatives at Paris, a belief in this stupid

tupid farrago of absurdity, falsehood, and forgery, the production of minds tormented by remorse for past crimes, dreading future chastisements, and furious at their impotency to otherwise injure a great and free nation, as much above the republican tyrants and their slaves for her loyalty, as for her spirit and patriotism;—let them compare the public and private characters of an Addington, of a Hawkesbury, and a St. Vincent, with those of a Buonaparte, of a Regnier, and of a Talleyrand; and then they will, no doubt, disavow such degrading and impolitic transactions of their Ministers, and be ashamed of having diplomatic agents in France, so ignorant, so weak, or so wicked, as to stoop to be the panegyrists of infamy, the promoters of the plans of the guilty, and the indirect accomplices in the plots of rebels and regicides.

As to Regnier's accusation and charge against the unfortunate and so barbarously murdered Duke of Enghien and General Pichegru, against Moreau, Georges, and others, they are to be received with caution and viewed with suspicion; because Buonaparte's ambition, and even safety, required at this moment a great plot. He wanted it, to take away the public attention

from

from the inefficacy of his means to invade England, and to divert the murmurs and quiet the impatience of his soldiers: it was necessary, before his debased Senate could invite him to assume an Imperial dignity, to which, ever since the peace of Amiens, he had anxiously looked, and which had been impeded, but not laid aside, by the renewal of the war. It has, besides, been a favourite maxim with all the revolutionary rulers in France to invent conspiracies. Traitors themselves, they saw in every opposer a rebel against their authority, and in very rival a conspirator against their power. When their popularity was decreasing, or when they apprehended the punishment due to their crimes; when their cruel deeds of internal vengeance became abhorred; when their absurd schemes of external ambition had miscarried; when defeats had irritated their pride, or when disaffection raged in their armies; when their soldiers wanted pay, or the people bread, to silence clamour, and to occupy the thoughts of the injured and offended, but giddy French nation;—plots were announced, denounced, and punished—prisons crowded—scaffolds erected—or the wilds of Cayenne peopled with victims. *Des Od'ouard, Prudhomme,* and other

other revolutionary writers, have acknowledged, "That during ten years, from 1789 to 1799, the different members of different factions in that period, pretended to have discovered no less than 860 conspiracies, *of which sixteen only were supposed to be real*, though they have cost the lives or liberties of no less than 144,000 persons, of whom 9666 were women." The member of the National Convention, and of the Council of Ancients, *Poultier*, originally a Carmelite friar, whom the Revolution converted successively into a strolling player, a regicide, a legislator, a general, and an author, confessed in his work "*On Republican Parties*," that, "Of these 860 pretended conspiracies; he had, by the desire of Mirabeau, Orleans, Talleyrand, Condorcet, Brissot, Danton, Robespierre, La Reveillere, or Barras, invented 721, and published them as real in the daily papers, particularly in that newspaper called *L'Ami des Lois*." He ingenuously adds, "That France will cease to be a republic *if she ceases to be agitated*, and, secure from present dangers, gives the people time to recollect their past uninterrupted tranquillity under Monarchy; to see what they are, and remember what they were.

From the murder of the innocent Marquis de Favras as a conspirator, by La Fayette, in Feb.

Feb. 1790, every year since the people have been more or less alarmed, more or less tormented; under the appellation of measures of police, or measures of public safety, new measures of rigour, of slavery, and of terrorism, have been resorted to. Under pretext of the necessity to save the country, but in fact to ensure the continuance of their usurpation, Robespierre and his Committee of Public Safety decreed the most oppressive and tyrannical laws against the quiet and liberty of French republicans. These laws the Directory improved, and, after being extended, they are now confirmed, and regarded by Buonaparte's Consulate as the fundamental laws of the Republic; and have obtained a perfection with the assistance of Fouché, Talleyrand, and other *liberal-minded* counsellors, at which all acts of former republican tyrants could never arrive. No person of either sex in modern France, above fifteen years of age, is exempted from the obligation of having a card of citizenship, or a pass, containing a minute description of his or her person, as if in the modern French commonwealth it was suspected that every individual was born to be at one period or other a traitor or a conspirator, a rebel or a felon, whose person it

was

was necessary to keep registered in the police offices, where volumes are found, with copies of the passes or cards of thirty millions of degraded originals, or *free* French republicans. In Italy as in Switzerland, in Holland as in Hanover, and in all countries where a French citizen enters to rule and to plunder, the same oppressive acts are introduced, with domiciliary visits, arbitrary imprisonments, requisitions, extortions, &c.; liberty disappears with prosperity, and nothing remains but wretched slaves and proud tyrants. If, therefore, a Cochon or a Sottin, a Fouché or a Regnier, occupies the place of a Police Minister in the French Republic, if he possesses no honour or feelings, and but common understanding, he will, by the ignorant, be considered as an able, if not a great man. This explains the success of the admired French police, backed by 132,000 avowed spies at Paris *alone* (one-sixth of the population *); and shews the utter impossibility that any conspiracy of any considerable extent can exist long without discovery. It proves besides, that when government finds it necessary, it has at its command 132,000 *irreproachable* witnesses ready to discover, or to swear

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, No. iii. Brumaire, an xii.

swear to any plot that may be thought necessary either to impeach internal rivals, or to calumniate foreign foes.

The anarchy and immorality of the French Revolution have introduced themselves into all the branches of the administration, the judicial department not excepted. Fiddlers, barbers, strolling-players, and apostate friars, have been seated on the bench of judges, as well as headed battalions. The cruel Dumas, the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris in 1793 and 1794, had first in 1790 left his convent; Collot D'Herbois and Fernix, who butchered in the same capacity during the same period at Lyons and at Orange, had both in 1789 been attached to the theatre in the former city, the one as an actor and the other as a musician. The Judge at Strasburgh, Schneider, had been a barber, and the Judge in La Vendée, Heron, was a tailor from Versailles. A hundred others as low, as ignorant, and as cruel, might be mentioned. The consequence is, that the honest man has no security that he shall not be punished as a rogue, or executed as an assassin; whilst the really criminal, by money or friends, is always sure to escape chastisement. Corruption and ignorance walk hand-in-hand; and it is more

easy for Buonaparte to clear the highways of robbers, than to prevent his tribunals from being dens of thieves, where innocence is condemned for want of means or inclination to bribe, and where guilt is acquitted, by dividing with the judges the spoils of its nefarious deeds; tribunals from which the sole whim of the usurper sends a prisoner to fill a place in his senate, or to be shot in the wood of Vincennes.

To give an English public some idea of the indecency and want of probity and decorum in the French tribunals, the following is translated *verbatim* from a Paris paper, *Le Journal des Tribuneaux*, page 6, of the 2d of January, 1804. The trial took place on the 23d of the preceding December:

"Lately a young man, handsome in his person, and formed like a *Hercules*, appeared before the Criminal Tribunal at Paris, and caused there such a crowd, and was so much the fashionable hero of the day, that Parisian beaux, belles, cockneys, and gossips, paid as much for places in the galleries of this tribunal as for those in the first boxes at the Opera.

"The prisoner, Francais Benoit, had, for the last ten years, once or twice every year, been tried for thieving or robbery, and condemned; but

but had always escaped either from the prisons or from the galleys, and returned again to the *beau monde* at Paris, where his personal agreeableness, insinuating manners and address, soon procured him new acquaintances, new intrigues, new adventures, and new opportunities to pilfer or to steal. He was at last arrested when on the eve of marrying the sister of General Murat, who, report says, is now dying for love, and has even petitioned the First Consul to allow her to share the fate of her lover; by the publicity of whose imprisonment the police has not augmented their interest with the Consular family, because the theft was committed in the Council of State, where Buonaparte had appointed him an Under Secretary; and where this affair has caused great scandal, as the Counsellor of State, Emmery, had accused another Counsellor of State, Francois de Nantes, of being the stealer of a gold snuff-box, which was picked out of his pocket in the council chamber, and which was stopped at a pawnbroker's where Benoit went to pledge it.

"The first question the President asked Benoit, on the day of his trial, the 1st of Nivose, on the 23d of last December, was, "How did you come here; did we not condemn you last year

to the galleys for life?" To which he made the following answer: "*Fellow-thieves!* you not only condemned me last year; but every year since 1798 I have been condemned by fellow-thieves to the galleys for life. As to the history of my escape, it is simple; it is the same now as ten years ago, and has cost me neither more nor less than 100 Louis d'ors. I paid to you, *fellow-thieves*, 25 Louis d'ors for condemning me *only* to the galleys; I paid to the *fellow-thief* who commands at Brest, 25 Louis d'ors, to overlook my escape; to the *fellow-thief*, the keeper over the galley-slaves, 25 Louis d'ors to let me escape; and 25 other Louis d'ors for travelling post from Brest to Paris; where you probably will condemn me to-day, but where you will see me again within six months."

"After sentence of transportation to Cayenne for life had been passed, he addressed himself to the Judge, but, bowing, regarded the Ladies in the galleries, saying, "My *fellow-thieves* have sent me to Cayenne; but, Ladies, do not break your hearts; I shall never leave France, and but for a short time Paris. I am a thief, it is true, but a patriotic thief, having never yet stolen any thing but from thieves *en masse*, enriched by a revolution which has ruined my family and myself.

I am

I am besides an anti-republican, and an anti-regicide, and have revenged *in my own manner* the murder of an innocent King, and the destruction of Monarchy. Of the regicides who murdered Louis XVI. I have cockled 62; of the former kings of factions, I have cockled all the members of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety; all the members of the late Directory; the whole Consular family; all the Consular ministers and counsellors of state; most of the senators, legislators, tribunes, and many of the other revolutionary gentry, now so proud, so great, and so *honest*. The snuff-box for which I am now pinched, interrupted my career to the consulate for life, in the same manner as a gold bracelet squeezed me in 1796, and prevented me from being a Director for five years." Turning towards the public accuser, Merlin of Douai, he said, "Is it not true, fellow-thief, that I was that year a favourite aide-de-camp to you, both in the directorial hall, and in your good wife's bed-room; at your table as well as in your bed; Excuse Ladies! this indiscretion; the sneer of my old friend forces it from me—and remember, Parisian beauties, that if you desire to see your constant admirer soon again—*d'argent, beaucoup*

d'argent, can alone break his fetters, in making him your slave."

"When he was carried away, several purses with gold were thrown to him from the galleries; and in the passage from the tribunal back to the prison, a servant to the beautiful wife of a rich banker presented him with a *rouleau* of fifty Louis d'ors. During his speech, he had often been interrupted by the Judges, who had ordered the *gens d'armes* to carry him away, but they were prevented by the crowd from approaching him or the bar. He often received loud and repeated applauses from the galleries, and from the people in the hall."

A gentleman who was present at this trial is now in London, and assures me that he saw Benoit the week before at Madame Buonaparte's ball, where his frequent dances with her not only caused the envy and whispers of all other ladies present, but even the jealousy of the First Consul, whose frowns forced his dear *moitié*, though unwillingly, to change partners ! ! !

That the Consular Grand Judge Regnier of 1804, possesses the same debased mind with the revolutionary Judge Regnier of 1794, an anecdote well known at Paris, and extracted from

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Les Nouvelles à la Main, No. i. Vendemiaire, an. xii. evinces:—"In January, 1803, Mademoiselle de C——, a young lady whose father, the Marquis de C——, died during his emigration, was left entitled to a fortune of 400,000 livres, or 16,000l. per annum. This only child was educated in a Roman Catholic school in this country. Of her family property nearly half remained unsold, and, according to Buonaparte's amnesty, was to be restored to her. She waited therefore on the Grand Judge to prove her claims. Regnier is a man near sixty, with the ferocious looks of an executioner, improved by the vulgar and brutal manners of a *sans-culottes*. This public functionary offered this beautiful lady more than she demanded, upon condition of accepting his hand, *being*, as he said, *determined to obtain a divorce, should his old wife not die soon*. Upon Mademoiselle de C——'s refusal, and declaration, "That she hoped Providence would give her strength to support poverty, rather than do any thing contrary to her principles of virtue;" the Grand Judge fell into a rage, told her to be gone, and never call again; *as those who believed in Providence and in virtue might trust to their assistance, and had nothing to expect from him*. In a memorial presented to the

First Consul, this lady related the behaviour of his Grand Judge, and asked for reparation and justice; for which, however, she is yet waiting.

The proverb, *qui non cognoscitur ex se, cognoscitur ex sociis*, is truly applicable to Buonaparte. With very few, if any exceptions, all persons having his confidence, serving his usurpation, transacting as his ministers, or acting as his military or political tools, are, with Regnier, equally notorious for crimes, and dangerous from their want of all moral and religious notions*.

* The particulars for which the authorities are not quoted, are taken from *Histoire General des Crimes*, by Prudhomme; *Dictionnaire des Jacobins* and *Les Annales du Terrorisme*.

By a decree of the 10th of July 1804, Regnier was deprived of his place as a minister of the Police; and his functions as a Grand Judge, are now of the same nature as those of the former ministers of justice.

JACQUES ALEXIS THURIOT,

JUDGE OF THE CRIMINAL AND SPECIAL TRIBUNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE, BEFORE WHOM MOREAU, PICHEGRU, GEORGES, &c. WERE PRIVATELY EXAMINED.

Most of the men employed by Buonaparte as instruments to entrap and condemn the pretended conspirators, whom he regards as personal rivals, or as enemies to his usurpation, are the very same men who plotted the destruction of Monarchy in 1791; who murdered the terrorists in the name of liberty, and who plundered, while they extolled equality, during the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, and whose crimes were so notorious, that, since the death of Robespierre, none of his successors, except Buonaparte, have stooped to associate with characters, corrupted as well as atrocious. The Judge Thuriot, and the Police Director Real, are both of this description. Both were, in 1789, advocates of the Parliament; both were disgraced by nefarious actions; both were despised by their superiors

riors and shunned by their equals; both, therefore, became flaming *patriots*, and as such joined in rebellion.

Thuriot was, on the 14th of July, 1789, one of the Electors of Paris; and on the 10th of September, 1791, chosen a deputy to the Legislative Body for the department of Marne; in which post he shewed himself one of the most violent and bitter enemies of his King, and of Monarchy. He was, at the same time, one of La Fayette's persecutors, whose imbecile and lukewarm *patriotism* displeased him. In March, 1792, he provoked measures of rigour towards the emigrants, and threatened, in case of opposition, an insurrection of the people at Paris. On the 25th of May, he declaimed against religion, and against the clergy, "*whom he wished, for the welfare of mankind, at the bottom of the sea.**" In July he ascended the tribune every day to calumniate his King and to blaspheme his God. On the 26th he proposed to declare the country in danger, and the permanency of the Parisian Sections. After the 10th of August he became the interpreter of the insurrection municipality, caused domiciliary visits and a revolutionary tribunal to be decreed, and defended

* See Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 452.

defended the massacres of prisoners in September, *because this summary justice of the sovereign people was necessary for the safety of the country, as the tree of liberty could never flourish without being continually inundated with the blood of aristocrats, and other enemies of the Revolution**. Elected a member of the National Convention, he continued faithful to his former ferocious principles; and, during the trial of the virtuous and unfortunate Louis XVI., he daily called for the destruction of that good prince. On the 12th of December he demanded *that the tyrant Capet should be tried, and ascend the scaffold within three days.* On the same day he was appointed one of the Conventional Commissaries, and sent to the Temple to ask Louis XVI. the names of the counsellors whom he chose for defenders. On the 18th Thuriot declared in the Jacobin Club, *That if the National Convention evinced any signs of clemency, he would go himself to the Temple, and blow out the brains of the King*, for whose death he, of course, voted in January 1793†. Always a partisan of violent and oppressive measures, *this friend of liberty* caused, in March, a law

* See Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 453.

† See the same work and page; and Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. Thuriot.

law concerning passes to be decreed, to which *free* Frenchmen are still so subject, that they dare not walk in the streets without a pass in their pocket. In May, he denounced all bankers and merchants as incorrigible aristocrats; and, as a punishment, moved, that they should immediately be obliged to pay a forced loan of one million. In June, he was made a member of the Committee of Public Safety, "where," (according to *Recueil d'Anecdotes*, page 345), "having *appropriated* to himself 500,000 livres in assignats, deposited there, and belonging to arrested persons, he was turned out by Robespierre, and escaped the guillotine only by assisting that republican tyrant in sending his revolutionary antagonists, the Brissotines, to prison and to death. During the remaining part of Robespierre's reign, Thuriot was his assiduous valet; but remained silent in the National Convention, from fear of exposing himself to the opposing factions. After Robespierre's execution, he became the official defender of Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and their republican accomplices, who, during eighteen months, had condemned more innocent persons to be guillotined, shot, and drowned, than had perished, during

during the Monarchy, for the fourteen preceding centuries.

In February 1795, Le Gendre accused him in the National Convention of being chief of the Terrorists; after whose defeat by Pichegru, in the insurrection on the first of the following April, he was ordered first to be arrested, and afterwards to be outlawed, as on that day one of the principal plotters for restoring the reign of terror. He remained concealed until the amnesty of this Assembly in October permitted him again to fraternize with his former associates. The revolution effected by Buonaparte in 1799 found him without bread as well as without a conscience, ready to perpetrate the same enormities in erecting a throne for an usurper, that he had already committed in annihilating that of his lawful Sovereign.

His past crimes and infamy were, with the guilty Corsican, pledges for his future obedience and fidelity; he was therefore promoted to the place that he now occupies. Prudhomme's work* gives him this character:—"Before the Revolution, dishonoured and indebted; atheist, to crush the

* Prudhomme's Histoire des Crimes, tom. iv. page 644; and Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 354.

the remorse of his conscience; and factious, to be enabled to silence the reproaches of his acquaintances, and the demands of his creditors; Thuriot saluted cordially in 1789 the overthrow of rank, property, morality, and religion. Fanaticism operated upon Marat, St. Just, and even sometimes upon Robespierre; but Thuriot was always cool and deliberate, defending with the same *sang froid* the barbarity of others, as he offered himself to shoot Louis XVI. Besides his thefts *en masse* in the committees, he dearly sold his protection, and by it, *in detail*, picked the pockets of his countrymen. In 1795 he was accused in the National Convention by Le Cointre, of having stabbed his wife; by Le Gendre of having poisoned his mother; and by Freron of having caused twelve of his creditors to be murdered in the Abbey prison, on the 2d of September, 1792." To these grave accusations, his only answer was—PROVE IT; well knowing, that during the reign of terror all witnesses to his guilt had been removed to a place where they can tell no tales. As a politician, he said in 1791, "The Revolution was designed to raise the lowest; and will never rest till it has effected that purpose." As an orator it may be added, that he would literally

terally beat both the air and the earth amidst his declamations, that his adversaries might have no rest.

Such is the judge who had at his disposal the lives of Moreau, Georges, and other illustrious and loyal men ! ! !

P. F. REAL,

P. F. REAL,

THE DIRECTOR OF BUONAPARTE'S POLICE, AND HIS COUNSELLOR OF STATE.

Comme ce lourd *Real* écrit !
Comme il ment sans gout, sans esprit !
L'entendez vous vanter avec emphase
Le *civisme* de ses gredins ?
Comme il jouit ! Comme il est en extase
Devant les chants des assassins !
C'est un quatre vingt-neuf, ami de la patrie,
O le charmant jeune homme ! O l'honnête garçon !
Pour certains petits tours, qui ne flairoient pas bon,
Sa griffe fut, dit-on, au palais raccourcie ;
Mais j'en jure *Fyon Rossignol* et *Babœuf*,
S'il fut fort en filouterie,
En terrorisme il n'est pas neuf.

AUGUSTE DANICAN.

THE theories, speculations, or reveries of physiognomists, though less dangerous to the happiness of society, are as defective, and as little to be depended upon, as those of modern philosophers, metaphysicians, politicians, or other fashionable innovators. Of the rebellious monsters that have butchered, or caused butcheries, in revolutionary France, with the exception of Mirabeau,

Mirabeau, Sieyes, Marat, and Danton, most of them were good-looking men, whose faces and features bespoke neither cruelty nor villany. Such are, or were, those of a La Fayette, Brissot, Robespierre, Carrier, Hebert, Le Bon, Barras, Fouché, Mehée, and other notorious rebels or regicides. Even from viewing the picture of Napoleon Buonaparte, no man would imagine the original more atrocious than a Nero; a greater hypocrite than a Cromwell; more deliberately wicked than a Sylla; and more coolly barbarous than a Marius.

Had a Lavater been asked to delineate the features of a man morally good, and religiously virtuous, the portrait of Real would, according to the rules laid down by himself, have furnished him with a complete model. But with a pleasing and open countenance, that shews candour itself; with an agreeable and soft voice, and very insinuating manners; with a language that breathes nothing but humanity; having tears at his command on all occasions, and bestowing them liberally either in defending crimes or in accusing innocence; either on hearing in society a narrative of invented distress, or on seeing in the theatre the imaginary misery of a tragedian, Real

conceals

conceals within a body of perfect shape, the most hypocritical, ferocious, and base mind.

Real is the son of a Clerk in the Police Office at Paris, and was born in 1760: accused of forgery, and convicted of fraud, he was shortly before the Revolution struck off the list of advocates by the King's Parliament in that city. He therefore, of course, became a *fashionable* patriot, and early made himself remarked by his exaggerated opinions at the Jacobin Club, and by his dangerous and sophistical writings in the periodical papers of 1789, 1790, and 1791. He was with Mehée a co-operator in the paper *Le Patriote*, in 1789, and with Gorsas in the *Journal des LXXXIII Departmens.* In the confidence of the conspirators who planned and effected the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, he was by them appointed the *first* public accuser of the *first* revolutionary tribunal. In this terrible situation, he was the *first* judicial functionary that forced French judges and a French jury to lay aside the laws of their country; to silence the dictates of their own consciences, and to substitute in their place the passions and vengeance of factions. He was the *first* to destroy the immense distance which, in all civilized nations, separates the punishment for an imprudent word from

from that of a murderous deed. According to his conclusions, as a public accuser, "*all persons* carried before a revolutionary tribunal *were guilty, because they were suspected*; for in revolutionary times, to cause *suspicion* was always *guilt*, and *all guilt deserved death*. And a citizen *who mentioned the name of a king*, or who talked of a peace with a king, committed high treason toward his nation; and *was as culpable* as the parricide who strangled his father, the matricide who poisoned his mother, or the fatricide who stabbed his brother*."

Among the many other persons whom Real, as a public accuser, sent to the scaffold, was the brave and loyal General Blackman, of the King's Swiss guard. He was condemned for conspiring against the people, by defending, on the 10th of August, the King, his family, and the palace of the Thuilleries against the mob of assassins and plunderers who had attacked them; and though he proved, that in doing otherwise he would have acted not only contrary to his honour as an officer, but to that duty imposed upon him by his oath of allegiance to Louis XVI., by the French constitution, and by the several military capitulations between France and Switzerland, he

* Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 177.

he was guillotined on the 3d of September. It was to him that Real addressed those remarkable words, which have so often been quoted to inspire horror against their abominable author: "*I have two consciences; the one acquits thee, not only as innocent, but as just; but the other condemns thee, to save the country, and to inspire terror to innocence as well as to guilt**."

With Danton, Sergent, Marat, Panis, Mehée, Santerre, Tallien, and Jarat, Real organized the massacres of the confined persons in the prisons of Paris and Versailles in September 1792; and he wrote the official letter which Danton signed *as Minister of Justice*, in which all the departments were invited to imitate the *summary justice* of the people at Paris; *to empty all prisons*, and *to dispatch all prisoners* as enemies to liberty and equality †. The consequence of this *official* letter was, the murder of 22,531 prisoners, confined as *suspected*, in different jails all over France ‡.

In 1793 he was elected deputy *Procureur* of

* Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 178; and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 644.

† See Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 406; and Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 104, in the note.

‡ See the last-mentioned work; and Le Dictionnaire des Jacobins, art. Real.

of the Committee at Paris, under the notorious Chaumette, in which situation he was succeeded by the no less notorious Hebert; when, after the death of Marat, in pronouncing an apotheosis of this martyr of *French liberty*, he offended Robespierre, whom he called on this occasion, " not *the republican providence*, as he has lately done Buonaparte, but only *a republican apostle of equality*." His speech on this occasion is preserved in *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, p. 188. Real, it is said, ascending the tribune of the jacobins, pale and disfigured, sobbing, sighing, and crying, addressed himself to Robespierre: " Apostle of liberty! thy Christ (Marat) is no more; but his gospel *(evangile)*, shewing Marat's atrocious journal, called *The Friend of the People*, will exist for ever in free France, and instruct Frenchmen in their duty as freemen. I propose, therefore, that busts of Marat shall be placed in all jacobin clubs, in the National Convention, in the revolutionary tribunals and committees, and in the halls of the 45,000 municipalities of the French Republic: and that every day, at the opening of each sitting, the president shall address not a prayer *(republicans never pray)*, but a fraternal salute to the representatives of St. Marat." He was here interrupted by the abundance

abundance of tears which flowed down his cheeks; but turning towards the galleries, he continued, after a pause of five minutes: "Brothers and friends! my fellow-citizens! the virtuous shade of Marat must suffer in the purgatory of equality until it is revenged: let us release it by sacrificing all detained, suspected, or imprisoned persons:" (at that period the republican prisons contained 250,000 prisoners.) "Yes," continued he, "gratitude and HUMANITY demand these numerous sacrifices. We owe it to Marat that we can discuss freely here. And the annihilation of a *small portion*, and the unworthy part of the present generation, will preserve future generations from the chains of royal tyrants, and the gibbets of kingly executioners." As Robespierre was not flattered enough in this speech, Real was shortly after arrested, and confined in the Luxemburgh, where he saved his life by becoming, with another Consular Counsellor of State, Miot, a spy upon his fellow-prisoners, whom he denounced after having treacherously gained their confidence; and the last quoted work mentions, p. 190, as a *known fact*, "that from the beginning of January to the latter part of July, 1794, not a day passed that one or more persons did

not

not perish by the guillotine, victims of Real's false denunciations."

The revolution of the 9th Thermidor, or 27th July 1794, which made his former accomplice, Tallien, a momentary king of faction, released him from his confinement; and on the 6th of August following, he again ascended the tribune of the jacobins, and gave a shocking picture of the interior of the prisons in the reign of terror, which, after the destruction of the jacobins, he augmented and printed. In the next winter he became the defender of the criminal members of the revolutionary committees at Nantes, who had committed so many enormities under Carrier, Francastle and others, in Brittany, particularly in La Vendée.

To insinuate himself into the favour of the Directory, he published in the autumn 1795, a pamphlet called *Essay on the 13th of Vendemiaire*, in which he attempted to defend, or at least to palliate, the crimes of Barras and Buonaparte, who on the 6th of October of that year had butchered 8000 men, women, and children in the streets of Paris, because the citizens had insisted upon choosing *with freedom* their representatives *.

But

* See *Les Brigands Demasqués*, an excellent work by General Danican, page 238, 239, and following.

But his duplicity and hypocrisy were so well known, mistrusted, and despised, that during the whole directorial reign he remained without any public employment. Buonaparte, however, was not so nice. After his usurpation, Real was in December 1799 nominated a Counsellor of State in the section of *Justice*; and in February 1804, a Director of the French police, an office corresponding nearly with that which Fouché resigned in 1802. For this last place he is indebted to his *worthy* friend Mehée de la Touche, whose services as a spy in England were regarded so *eminently* by the First Consul, that this title was created purposely for him, as a reward for his recommendation of this infamous man:

" Fort bien, *Real*, ce dernier trait me touche;
Mais toi, donc le front seul signale tes forfaits;
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
Tu le sais, la vertu se flétrit dans ta bouche,
Comme une belle fleur sur un aride sol,
En parles tu? ton air est si faux, si farouche,
Que j'imagine entendre, ou Mandrin ou Cartouche
Prechant les horreurs du vol."

DANICAN.

The following account of the barbarous Police of France shews Real's conduct as a Police Director. It was related to the Author by persons of known probity, who are still in England, and contains only their own sufferings, or what happened to them when in prison:

Persons

Persons of both sexes, implicated in the pretended conspiracy of Moreau, Georges, and Pichegru, have escaped to this country, after being shut up in the Temple, in the Conciergerie, and in La Force prisons, for several months, and having endured all the augmentations of the horrors of captivity, that the dread of tortures and of poison must inspire. It has been observed by several political writers, that little reliance is be placed on the reports of proscribed persons: but when corresponding with rumours which they could not know, being confined when these were disseminated, and congenial with the characters of men in power, their persecutors, they deserve, at least, to be narrated; as they throw some light on the infamous transactions of the present barbarous government of France, which may be exposed to a well-merited detestation, but which it is impossible either to libel or to calumniate.

During last February, March, and April, the number of persons arrested as accomplices in the alleged conspiracy, amounted, at Paris *alone*, to eight thousand three hundred, ladies as well as gentlemen; old people near fourscore, as well as boys and girls under fifteen. The number of prisoners taken up in the provinces is known to the police only; but in the department of

La Vendeé, two-third parts of the inhabitants were either actually arrested, or put under the inspection of the military commanders, or of the police agent, as *suspected* adherents to the Bourbons.

At Paris, the following formality was observed with a prisoner: after being taken from his home by the spies of the police, accompanied by the *gens d'armes* * *d'élite*, he was carried to the office of

* As *gens d'armes* are so often mentioned in this work, the following particulars of this corps may be interesting to English readers.

Before the Revolution, this corps was called *la marchausse* and composed of 6000 men. The corps of *gens d'armes* amount at present, to 25,000 men, of whom 20,000 are on horseback, and 5000 on foot. To these have lately been added 3000 chosen men, selected from the agents of the secret police, and known by the name of *gens d'armes, d'élite*. These have five livres each a day (four shillings and two-pence); whilst the other, have only half a crown, or three livres. The *gens d'armes* are quartered, and doing duty, all over France, and every two leagues, or six miles, some of them are found. They patrole the high and bye roads night and day; stop every person travelling on foot, to look at his pass, and every one in carriages, post-chaises, or diligences as often as they change horses, and oftener, if they are so inclined, as they have no account to give of their conduct, but to their general officer, who depends entirely upon the Minister of the Police, from whom he receives confidential orders or instructions. To him are sent all the descriptions of criminal or suspected persons, and he distributes them to every brigade under his command, and they are posted up inside in all the *corpes de gardes* of the *gens d'armes* all over France. On the frontier departments, or in those provinces

of the Secret Police, which is sitting night and day. If any other prisoner was examined, or if it

ces where the constitution is suspected, the vigilance and the *gens d'armes* are doubled; but they are exceedingly troublesome to all foreign travellers not accustomed to the organized slavery of modern France, and ignorant of the numerous formalities required to make a pass good in that *free* country; from which the *gens d'armes* take advantage to extort money, and to detain them until they have purchased their liberty. They escort all prisoners every where in France to the tribunals, to the gallies, or to the scaffold. They guard the prisons and houses of *detention*, and assist the police agents in making domiciliary visits, or in arresting guilty or *suspected* persons. They are chosen from the most desperate characters in the army; must know how to read and write, and cannot be accepted without having made three campaigns, and received wounds.

The *gens d'armes d'élite* belong to the secret, or, as it is sometimes called, *haut police*, and are the confidential servants of the Minister, Director, and Members of the Secret Police Office. They are employed on the most trusty, as well as on the most desperate undertakings and expeditions. They escorted the Duke of Enghien from Strasburgh to Paris, guarded him at Vincennes, and were present at his midnight murder. They are the exclusive guards of the Temple, and other state prisons, the actors in torture, the distributors of the poisonous draughts, and the secret executioners of those unfortunate individuals or families, whom Buonaparte's, Fouché's, and Real's *measures of safety* require to remove or to conceal. In what revolutionary tyrants call *grand coups d'etat*, as butchering, or poisoning, or drowning *en masse*, they are *exclusively* employed. They must have been five years agents, or, which is the same, spies of the secret police, before they can be received among *gens d'armes d'élite*; and given proofs not only of dexterity, but of that barbarous mind requisite to commit those enormous crimes, which the vengeance and safety of revolutionary ty-

it was intended to inspire terror, the arrested person generally continued shut up, chained there in what is called *la Chambre d'Enfer*, or the Chamber of Hell, for 48, and sometimes 96 hours. This room is a large hall under ground, where no light penetrates, paved with stones, and in the wall are large iron rings, to which the chains of the prisoner, with which his hands and feet are bound, are fastened, and locked with a padlock. He cannot move farther from the ring than six feet. This dark hall is large enough to contain 150 prisoners at the same time. The only time light is admitted into this abode of misery, is when the jailers are bringing a new victim to be chained, as they then generally carry a lantern in their hands. Nothing but sighs and lamentations are heard, and no consolation can be given, is expected, or will be received, as, even here, the nearest person

rants demand. They are called in France, THE MUTES OF BUONAPARTE.

The dresses of all the *gens d'armes* is the same; dark blue coats with red lapels and with white buttons; waistcoats and breeches of yellow cloth. The uniforms of the *gens d'armes d'élite*, are of finer cloth: but these, except upon guard, are mostly dressed in coloured cloth, to enable them to observe and report more easily what is going forward. Many of them are waiters in coffee-houses, at restaurateurs, and in hotels. They frequent all the theatres, gardens, and other places of resort. In the gambling-houses *they do duty* night and day, in coloured clothes.—*Nouvelles à la Main*, 20 Fructidor, year 12; or 6th September, 1804.

person to an innocent sufferer may be a *mouton*, or spy, sent to obtain and betray confidence. Half-a-pound of bread and two pints of water are allowed each prisoner, for each 24 hours. When carried to his first interrogatory, he does not leave the Chamber of Hell by the same way that he entered it, but passes through other large subterraneous rooms, where the stench strikes one of his senses, and blood-stained rags, instruments of torture, and coffins, another; for these rooms are so well lighted, that he can see spots of blood not only on the wall, but on the floor. Arrived before the Secret Police Magistrate, who generally was the barbarous Real, or the ferocious Fouché, sometimes both; he is told that his pretended crimes have long been known to the government, he being watched for months by the agents of the Secret Police; of course all evasion or denial are of no other avail than to expose himself to the rack, and certain death. If he persists in being innocent, he is carried back to the Chamber of Hell by the way that he left it, and the turnkeys shew him, *en passant*, the instruments of torture, explain the manner of applying them, the terrible sufferings they produce, and finish by intimating that few persons have strength enough to survive their torments. After

being for forty-eight hours more in the Chamber of Hell, upon bread and water, he is carried to a second interrogatory, under a supposition, no doubt, that want of nourishment has enervated the strength of his body, as well as anguish reduced the vigour of his mind. If he is not suspected of being a chief, or a principal confidant of the pretended chief conspirators; he is then, after undergoing a second interrogatory, sent to the Temple, or some other prison, after signing made-up interrogatories, which, if he refuses to do, forty-eight hours more in the Chamber of Hell teach him to be less obstinate. If he has been arrested by mistake, or no evidence is found against him, he continues in prison as long as it pleases the police, which seldom opens the doors of the jails, if friends or relatives do not make pecuniary sacrifices, which has been the case with those persons who have had the good fortune to escape to England. If the persons arrested be related to suspected individuals, or supposed to possess great talents, or known hatred against the Corsican family, a dose of poison usually removes them from the prison to the grave. Of the eight thousand three hundred persons imprisoned last spring, not a fourth part have again made their appearance in society; and though

though the police agents say, that they have demanded a voluntary banishment to the colonies, the burial places at Paris are known to be inhabited by most of them. It is well known that Georges' servant, Picot, before the criminal tribunal, in the presence of the public, declared that his confession had been extorted by tortures; and no one at Paris doubts that the virtuous Pichegru received the reward of the great services he had done his degraded country, by death upon a rack. A *gens d'armes d'élite*, of the name of Jean Pierreaux, one of his executioners, is now raving mad, and shut up at Charenton, where he never ceases to exclaim—"I have murdered Pichegru, the most honest man in France." Before he was sent to Charenton, he proclaimed this, both on the Pont Neuf and in the Palais Royal. Roland, the friend of Pichegru, lost the use of his right leg on the rack; but his discretion, in not mentioning it before the tribunal, saved his life, which is said to be the case even with Major Roussillion. During all the interrogatories of Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau, at the Secret Police Office, Buonaparte was, with Murat, and his favourite aid-de-Camp, Duroc, in an adjoining closet, where he could hear what was going on; and it was he who, in a fit

of rage against Pichegru, who denied every thing, and refused even to sign the interrogatories, ordered the instantaneous and atrocious murder of this great General, who was more admired in France for his greatness of mind, when surrounded by Buonaparte's assassins, than for his illustrious achievements when leading on those victorious armies, to whom France is indebted, not only for all her conquests, but for escaping, perhaps, subjection to the confederate powers in 1794.

Every person who has the good fortune of being set at liberty, is, before he obtains his release, obliged to sign a declaration, praising the lenity, generosity, and *humanity*, of the present Government, and of the persons employed by it; to which, and *not to his innocence*, he owes that the doors of the prison have not been shut for ever against him. He is informed that this declaration is, in the hand of the police, a *mandat d'arret*, which will be made use of the instant his conduct becomes suspected.

The Author has been assured, that the late conduct of Buonaparte has served the cause of the Bourbons more in France, than all the arms of their adherents in La Vendée, and the undertakings and endeavours of their friends at Paris,

and

and in the provinces; because, formerly, the French royalists residing in France were divided among themselves: some were for Louis XVIII. others for the Duke of Orleans, and others again for the Prince of Condé; but they are now united, and regard their legitimate Sovereign, Louis XVIII., as the only Prince who can save them from the cruel and tyrannical yoke of the Corsican. Besides, all other Frenchmen, either attached to Pichegru, Moreau, or to a republican form of government, and who have no crimes to reproach themselves with, have joined the staunch royalists, in hope of escaping the vengeance or oppression of Buonaparte, whose cruelty against the Duke of Enghien and Pichegru, and whose envy and ingratitude against Moreau, have made him detested by every man, who does not want this upstart's elevation to collect plunder, or to escape the punishment due to his crimes. Buonaparte is so well convinced of the public hatred, that during his late journey he has declined all guards of honour offered by citizens, and trusts the protection of his person only to Mamelukes, who poisoned or murdered with him in Syria and Egypt, or to those *picked* men of his guards, or *gens d'armes d'élite*, who, during 1793 and 1795,

were accomplices in his massacres of the inhabitants of Toulon and Paris.

In confirmation of the above statement, the following letter may be added; of its authenticity, unfortunately for humanity, little doubt can remain:

PRIVATE LETTER FROM NEW-YORK, DATED SEPT. 6, 1804.

"The widow of the unfortunate Toussaint has just landed upon our Continent. Her accounts of her own and her husband's sufferings, from Buonaparte's tyranny and executioners, would be incredible, were they not already equalled by the Corsican's former atrocities, and those of his accomplices. Her mutilated limbs and numerous wounds are, besides, visible proofs of the racks and other instruments of torture, from which she has suffered in the dungeons of *free, enlightened,* and *civilized France,* and under which, little doubt remains, that General Toussaint expired. From the moment that Le Clerc, by perfidy and breach of treaties, got her husband and herself into his possession, they were loaded with chains, and, during their whole passage to France, they continued in irons, with hardly food enough to support life. At their landing at Bourdeaux, they were separated, though shut up

up in the same prison. What happened since to her husband she does not know, nor is she yet certain whether he has perished, as the French papers have published, in a dungeon at Besançon: or whether, with a mutilated body, he continues to breathe the pestilential air of French gaols, exposed to the cruelties, and enduring that refinement in torments, which French ingenuity so ably invents, and of which Corsican barbarity so willingly makes use. Her first examination was before Lucien Buonaparte's brother-in-law, the police commissary at Bourdeaux, Pierre Pierre, who told her, "*that her grave was already dug; and that her last day was come,* if she did not immediately discover the place where her husband's *secret* correspondence with the English was concealed, and where his and her own treasures were buried or deposited." Having never heard of any secret transactions with the English, and being convinced that when Le Clerc so perfidiously surprized her husband, he got possession, not only of all his papers, but of all his money, amounting to about 300,000 livres (12,500l.) she declared herself unable to make any discoveries. She was then carried back to her prison, where Pierre Pierre arrived in the midst of the night, with

four *gens d'armes d'élite*, who dragged her to a subterraneous hall. Here the police commissary, shewing her the instruments of torture, repeated his former questions and threats. Her assurances, her prayers, her tears, and her declaration *that she was in a state of pregnancy*, availed nothing. On the *gens d'armes* laying hold of her, she fainted away. They carried her, notwithstanding, to the rack, where the most excruciating pain soon deprived her of sense, which she only recovered to feel that the premature delivery of a child, by miscarriage, was at hand. One of the *gens d'armes'* wives was then sent for, and she was delivered of a dead child. Her situation became at last so desperate, that the surgeon of the prison was ordered to visit her, and to prolong a life, still necessary to the policy, avarice, and ferocity of Buonaparte and his ferocious gaolers. After an illness which continued for six months, during which time she had repeated promises of liberty to see her husband, she gathered strength enough to support a journey; and one evening, after dark, Pierre Pierre arrived with a joyful countenance, informing her, that Buonaparte had *generously* permitted her to join her husband at Paris. She was accompanied, during the journey,

ney, by two police agents, and one of the negro girls who came with her to Europe as an attendant. The former forbade her to mention on the road who she was under pain of imprisonment; and the latter informed her, by her signs only, that she also had felt the effect of Buonaparte's tortures, because they were never left by themselves, nor permitted to speak low, one of the police agents being always with them. She entered Paris at eleven o'clock at night, and was immediately carried to the Prefecture of Police, from which the Police Prefect Dubois, ordered her to the Temple. The next evening she was brought before the Grand Judge Regnier, and the Police Director Real. Their Secretary, Desmarais, read to her the former interrogatories before Pierre Pierre, at Bourdeaux, together with her pretended confessions when upon the rack; *the procés verbal* of which was not only signed by Pierre Pierre, but by the four *gens d'armes d'élite*. She was now told to be more explicit, her husband having confessed more than herself, as the only means not only to obtain her liberty, but to avoid new tortures.—Having nothing to discover, she persisted in her former denial, and was, therefore, upon a signal from Regnier, seized by the *gens*

d'armes in the room, and carried to a dungeon, to which she descended sixty-six steps. There she was stripped naked, and put again on the rack, when Desmarais questioned her about the names of the secret agents from the English Governor at Jamaica, of their transactions, of the houses in England and America to whom money had been remitted; where, in St. Domingo, they had buried treasure, in gold, to the amount of ten millons, &c. What she had suffered at Bourdeaux was merely a trifle to the terrible pains inflicted on her at Paris, which, in a few minutes, deprived her both of the faculty of thinking and of speaking. What happened to her afterwards in the Temple she does not remember, having been entirely deprived of her reason. When she began to recover it last April, she found herself shut up and chained in the mad-house for women, called La Salpetriere, near the Jardan des Plantes, at Paris. When Allemand, the surgeon general of this hospital, had made his report of her convalescent state, her second son was permitted to see her; and the consolation that she received from his visits soon restored her as much as she could expect to be on this side of the grave. This *lenity* of Buonaparte was caused by the promise and engagement of

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the young man to form a party at St. Domingo against Dessalines; and it was by her agreeing to co operate with her son, that they both were permitted to embark for the American continent, after previously signing an acknowledgment of the *kind* treatment she had experienced in France. Both she and her son remained in a house of detention at Paris until an American vessel had been hired to carry them away from Europe. In this house they were treated not only with humanity, but with respect: before her departure she received from Buonaparte 1000 Louis d'ors, as an indemnity for her *detention* in France; and Madame Buonaparte sent her a diamond ring worth 500 Louis d'ors, with a message that she felt much for her situation, and desired her to forget the past, but remember that she was born a *French* subject.

"These particulars of her sufferings, Madame Toussaint has related to the widow of a rich planter of St. Domingo, Madame Bernard, who has sent them in the above letter, to a relative in this country, with the addition that Toussaint's widow has lost, by the torture, the use of her left arm; and has no less than forty-four wounds on different parts of her body. Pieces of flesh have been torn from her breast, as

as with hot irons, together with six nails off her toes! a living witness of the *humanity* and *honour* of the *tender* Emperor of the French, the *august* Chief of the French Legion of *Honour*."

In the *Dictionnaire des Jacobins*, art. Real, is said: "Successively the accomplice or defender of all guilty men, it is nothing to Real, that he nourishes himself with the tears of the oppressed. The assassin on the highway is preferable to the hypocrite Real; you mistrust the former, while the latter, with all the exterior of virtue, causes you to fall into the snare*.

* Besides the works quoted, the Author has made use of *Le Recueil d'Anecdotes*, *Dictionnaire Biographique*, and *Les Nouvelles à la Main*, Ventose, an 12. No. iii.

MEHEE DE LA TOUCHE,

THE FRENCH SPY.

Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, et crimine ab uno
Disce omnes.

It was a maxim with Richelieu and Mazarine, to trust neither political nor religious apostates; to employ them if they possessed talents, but never so as to afford them means to regain by treason the favour of that party or sect to which early inclination or education had attached them. The knowledge which these able ministers had of mankind, their long experience, their judgment and talents, prepared the grandeur of the reign of Louis XVI. and they are still consdered in Europe as the greatest statesmen of France, so fertile in political genius, and so proud of her Sully, of her Louvois, of her Choiseul, and of her Talleyrand. In his writings Richelieu says, "*that inclination for the cause that he serves, is even necessary in a spy*; *as it often has the same effect on his conduct that honour has on that of an ambassador.*" The justness of

of this remark cannot be doubted, nor is it unknown to any minister either in England or France. How artful and insinuating the treacherous Mehée is, may easily be conceived, when he was able to impose upon the republicans in one country and upon the royalists in another; for little doubt remains but that he betrayed the secrets of Buonaparte before he was able to penetrate to those of Louis XVIII., and of those faithful subjects who desired to restore him to the throne of his ancestors.

The father of Mehée de la Touche was a surgeon at Meaux, 30 miles from Paris, where his son was born in 1762. He was educated to succeed his father; but at the age of twelve he left his home, and joined, according to *Les annales du Terrorisme*, some pickpockets at Paris; and after several *reprimands* from the police, was finally sent to the Bicetre, near Paris, a house of correction for those criminals regarded as most desperate and dangerous. At the coronation of Louis XVI. his father petitioned for and obtained his release. His conduct, however, in his father's house, only hastened the death of both his parents. They died of broken hearts in 1776, and the next year their son was again shut up in the Bicetre for new crimes. In 1779 he

was

was sent to Brest to serve on board the fleet; but he escaped, and was not heard of until the Revolution made it safe for every French villain, on assuming the name of a patriot, to return to his country, from which his crimes had previously proscribed him. In 1790 he was sent as a spy to St. Petersburgh, by the revolutionary propaganda at Paris. Mirabeau and La Fayette procured him a pass as Chevalier De la Touche; and a patriotic mercantile house at Marseilles, by the desire of the former, the representative of their province, gave him a credit sufficient to live according to his assumed rank. His manœuvres were, however, soon suspected; and his actions were watched by the police at St. Petersburgh, until a letter from the then Russian Ambassador at Paris, Count de Semonville, informed his Court of the danger that the presence of such a man created; in consequence of which two Russian police agents, in March 1791, carried him, by the orders of Catherine II. out of her dominions. He then went to Poland in the same employment, and established a French Journal, which was printed at Warsaw. He began by publishing those principles which caused so much wretchedness in France, till Abbé Piatolis, Secretary to the King of Poland, bought

bought him over, for 500 ducats, to write for the royalist party. But it being discovered that he betrayed to the jacobins in France the secrets of his Polish Majesty, and thereby served the jacobins in Poland, he was arrested, and acknowledged his treason. The generous lenity of Stanislaus inflicted no other punishment than an order to depart immediately from his capital, and in eight days to leave his kingdom. In May 1792, he announced in the paper called *Ami du Peuple*, his arrival at Paris, *to fight and to die under the colours of Marat*, as he said. This worthy apostle of French liberty introduced him to Danton, and in June he was received in the clubs of the Jacobins and of the Cordeliers. On the 10th of August of that year, he was among the banditti who attacked the castle of the Thuilleries in the morning; and in the evening his name, as Secretary to the self-appointed commune, appeared in a publication posted up every where at Paris, exciting the people to murder, and calumniating the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family. On the 2d of September and the following days, he directed and paid those who murdered the prisoners at Paris. An English gentleman now in London met him on the 3d, in the street *Des St. Peres, Fauxlourg St.*

St. Germain, aecorated with a red jacobin cap, with a bleeding head on the point of a sword, accompanied by sixteen assassins, marching two and two, *each carrying a head by the hair in each hand,* and who went with him to the municipality, where they said they expected the salaries due for their *patriotic labours.* This same gentleman met him again in London last summer (1803) at a coffee-house. Astonished to see, after the declaration of war, such a guilty character in England, he asked him by whose permission he resided here, and, after having committed so many atrocities in France, how he dared to pollute a country with his presence where a halter and a gibbet punished many persons much less criminal than himself?—To these questions and reproaches he answered with an hypocritical impudence, that his repentance for his past *errors* was so sincere, and so well known both to the French royalists and to the English Ministers, that he had regained, *by great services,* the confidence of the former and the protection of the latter. He would not, however, have escaped chastisement, had he not found an opportunity to steal away through a back door unperceived, while the gentleman informed the master of the house who his guest was, and desired

desired a constable to be sent for. All the orders for the murder of the prisoners in September 1792, and all the *bons* for the payment of the murderers, were signed Huguenin, Tallien, and Mehée.

On the 17th of the same month, while the Section of the French Pantheon were deliberating what government, either republican or monarchical, they should recommend to their members lately elected for the National Convention, the terrible Mehée, sent them from the commune a note, which is here translated verbatim: "*Citizens! If what is called a King, or any thing resembling it, dare to present itself in France, and somebody is wanted to stab it, have the goodness to inscribe me among the number of canditates—my name is Mehée.*" This note was printed in all the papers of that time, and is found in *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, and in the *Dictionnaire Biographique*. He was afterwards Tallien's secretary, and composed with him the pamphlet which inspired so much horror, called "*The Apotheosis of the Septembrizers*," and the newspaper called "*Les Patriotes de* 1789," in which he preserved the same passion for blood, and recommended the massacre of the terrorists then in disgrace, as he shortly before had done that of the pretended

pretended aristocrats and priests, shut up in the dungeons of Paris. By his patron Tallien he was introduced to the members of the Directory, who, on the 25th of November, 1795, appointed him First Secretary to the Minister of the War Department; and shortly afterwards he obtained the same place in the Foreign Department under the imbecile La Croix. But his crimes were so notorious, and the public opinion was so much against him, that even the then all-powerful Directory could not protect him, and he was forced to resign in April 1796, as he pretended, *to have time to justify himself.*

Few, if any, of those guilty men who have figured in the French Revolution and in the French Republic, have satisfied themselves with committing one sort of crime. They have generally been both assassins and robbers, forgers and plunderers. Mehée was hitherto only known as a Septembrizer, whose hands had been stained with the blood of innocent and disarmed prisoners. But he now joined some contractors who defrauded the government of large sums of money, for which fraud he was tried in October 1796; but by the interest of his friend, Merlin of Douai, then Minister of Justice, he escaped, though his accomplices were

condemned

condemned to the gallies, where they still remain.

About this period the moderate party of the republicans began to court a connexion with that of the constitutional royalists; and their united efforts were visible in the elections of members for the two Councils in the spring of 1797. Not doubting of that punishment which awaited him as well as all other criminals, should order and a regular government be once restored in France, Mehée, to prevent it, made his peace with his old friends the terrorists, and became the Editor of their official gazette, called, *Le Journal des Hommes Libres*, in which he affected the language, policy, and morality of Marat. To make himself distinguished from the other libellers, who in this vile and violent paper attacked religion and calumniated all lawful Sovereigns, he signed barbarous and regicide articles, "*Felhemesi*," the anagram of *Mehée fils*. So atrocious and dangerous, however, were the consequences of his doctrine, that when the jacobin faction of the Directory, by the revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, proscribed all loyal and moderate men, to shew their *pretended justice* in not suffering terrorists more than royalists, Mehée was made an example of, and

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the *only* terrorist and Septembrizer condemned to be transported to Cayenne, with Pichegru, Willot, Barthelemy, and others accused of monarchical principles. At that time it was not, as it is now under the reign of the ferocious Buonaparte, a capital crime to conceal and preserve from destruction individuals of one faction, victims of the vengeance and passions of another faction. Mehée therefore remained for some months hidden by his accomplices, who presented a petition that he had composed, to the then King of party, Barras; in which this staunch republican basely held the same language to the regicide Director, and praised as much his clemency, justice, and generous notions of liberty, as the Consular Senators or Bishops now extol the virtues, humanity, and liberality of Buonaparte. This petition had the desired effect. He was pardoned, on condition of defending, in the official directorial paper, *Le Redacteur*, all the crimes which the Directors had committed, or intended to commit; and this he continued to do until the summer of 1799, when jacobin clubs were again opened at Paris, and red caps again were fashionable. Strong by the power of the jacobins, who then constituted the majority in the Council of Five Hundred (including

the jacobin Lucien Buonaparte), he turned against the Directory, and, in the tribune of the Jacobin Club, "proclaimed lists of proscriptions, denounced imaginary conspiracies, and demanded *that the guillotine should once more be the order of the day**."

The revolution effected by Buonaparte on the 9th November of the same year, cooled, however, his revolutionary *patriotism*; and he petitioned to be the Counsellor of State to an usurper who acknowledges neither a superior nor an equal, after having some few weeks before *sincerely* and *ardently* desired a republic of *perfect* equality, and the constitution of the year 11 †. But the Corsican then declined this fraternity in his Council of State; not but that most of its members were as infamous as Mahée; but because Tallien, when he was on the eve of deserting his army in Egypt, had been very severe in reproaching him, in the National Institute at Cairo, with the enormous crimes which he had committed at Jaffa; and that he suspected Mehée of being Tallien's friend; who, in revenge for his disappointment, wrote a libel against the Consular Government, which caused him to be sent to the Temple, the gates of which were

* See Les Jacobin de l'an vii. page 12, printed by Le Norman, an viii.

† Les Septembrizeurs Demasqué, chez Dantu, an x. page 39.

were opened to him in 1801 by another libel against the Bourbons. Being without employment, and without bread, alike detested and despised, and having no hope but from terrorists and atheists; he began in 1802 a weekly magazine, called *L'Antidote*, where the Christian religion was abused and ridiculed, and, under the appellation of philosophy, the tenets of atheism were preached. As the policy of that apostate to Christ, as to Mahomet, Napoleon Buonaparte had just then concluded a concordat, which introduced the same revolution in the church as had before been introduced in the state, Mehée was again arrested, and transported to the *Isle d'Oleron*, where, through the interference of his friends at Paris, he gained the favour of the First Consul, by taking upon himself to be his spy in England, to which country he was *permitted* to make his escape in an American ship.

When Mehée landed in this country, a peace subsisted between Great Britain and France; and Buonaparte wanted less to stir up rebellion here, than to prevent those royalist emigrants whom his impertinent amnesty could not seduce from their loyalty, and those emigrant Bishops whose faith and allegiance his revolutionary concordat was unable to change or to purchase, from

creating disturbances in the French Republic. The principal object of this spy was, therefore, to try, by a pretended repentance of his former crimes, and by declamations against the Corsican usurper, to gain the confidence of the principal emigrants, to inspect their actions, and to report their conduct. He went, therefore, to those French houses frequented by his countrymen; but for a long time his very name inspired horror. By continuing, however, his assiduity, by enduring insults with patience, and finally, by going regularly to the mass, and to confess, he imposed on some few, and familiarized others with the idea that even a Septembrizer may become a reformed man. As soon as he remarked (as he thought) that the *prejudice* against his person and the abhorrence of his former crimes were lessened, he offered himself, in atonement for his past conduct, as a *disinterested* victim to bleed for the cause of his King, in attempting to annihilate the Republic with the usurpation. But neither his Royal Highness Monsieur, the brother of the King of France, nor any of the other French Princes, would admit him into their presence. After the provocations of Buonaparte had again obliged England to resort to arms in defence of her honour, liberty, and independence, his spy addressed

dressed himself to some of the principal emigrants, possessing the confidence of the English Government, and the esteem of the King of France and of his royal relatives, with a plan for engaging the terrorists to destroy the Corsican, and to restore Monarchy; *as* according to his assertion, *what had been overturned by terrorists could only be rebuilt by terrorists.* He had even the audacity to desire them to present him to the British Ministers; but one of them, whose talents and judgment are as great as his honour and loyalty, in return for this impudent application, sent him the *Historical Dictionary,* in which some of his atrocities are recorded. It was in answer to this that he wrote the following memorial*; in

* To prove the authenticity of this document, the Author subjoins the original.

MONSIEUR,

Je vous renvoye votre Dictionnaire soi-disant Historique, et vous remercie de m'avoir bien voulu communiquer ce qui me regarde dans le recueil, dont les auteurs ont eu l'art de calomnier jusqu'à des gens que l'on n'a croyait pas calomniables. Quand au conseil que vous me donnés de repondre à ce qui me concerne, je vous prie d'observer que cet ouvrage ne porte ni nom d'auteur, ni nom d'imprimeur, ni nom de libraire, et qu'il est à peu pres reçu, que des atrocités que personne n'ose avouer ne meritent que le mépris des honnêtes gens. Lorsque des calomniateurs plus hardis m'ont calomnié à Paris et ont osé signer ce qu'ils avancaient, sur le champ je les ai traduits, devant les tribunaux, et j'ai obtenu justice, lorsque le Moniteur il y à deux ans a répété par ordre de la cour, la calomnie deja jugée, je me suis fort

in which he attempted to excuse, or totally denied, these known enormities, which no repentance can extenuate, and no evidence diminish;

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fort peu embarrassé si l'article était du Premier Consul, et j'ai attaqué et traduit devant les juges le Moniteur et ses copistes. J'ai à la vérité été arrêté et déporté pour tout jugement, mais cet acte là même est un aveu que le despote craignait que son journal ne fut condamné.

Lorsqu'à Londres on me dit que Mr. Richer Serisy repandait contre moi les mêmes calomnies, comme Mr. Richer Serisy, est un homme à qui on peut répondre, vous savèz si je perdis une minute pour aller m'expliquer avec lui. Je le trouvai aigri par le malheur et la maladie; il m'avoua que me regardant comme un ennemi des royalistes il s'était exprimé fort durement sur mon compte, et qu'il avait dit avoir lu tout ce que vous venès de me montrer. Je m'appercus que, toute l'humeur de M. Richer portait sur ce qu'il avait lu et entendu dire. Je lui prouvai que je n'avais jamais occupé les places dans lesquelles il me supposait.

Il ne connaissait rien des persécutions que j'ai éprouvées et il arriva avec lui ce qui arrivera toujours avec les gens de bonne foi, qui voudront m'entendre et me juger sur ce que j'ai fait, et non pas sur les ordures que les partis le jettent au nés dans une Revolution.

Viola ce j'ai toujours fait quand quelqu'un s'est presenté; et si aujourde'hui vous trouvés quelqu'un qui veuille signer ou articuler devant temoins, les faits contenus dans le Dictionnaire que je vous renvoye, je vous donne ma parole d'honneur de lui prouver de toutes les manieres possibles qu'il est un fourbe, et un lache calomniateur.

Mais lorsqu'un libelle degoutant, raporte des faits deja plusieurs fois jugès, et par les tribunaux, et par l'opinion des hônnetes gens, que voulez vous que je fasse?—Voulez vous que j'aille me battre seul devant le public, et que je dise: Messieurs, il n'est pas vrai, que je soye un terroriste, un Maratiste, un assassin.... tout le monde me rirait au nés.

On

THE MEMORIAL.

TO ———

MY LORD,

I return you the *soi-disant* Historial Dictionary, and thank you for the obliging manner in which you

On me dirait : pourquoi vous defendés vous de ces horreurs ? C'est que *On*, m'en accuse—quel est ce *On* qui vous accuse ?—Des gens de lettre de *Hambourg*.—Alors allés les trouver—Je ne les connais pas. Addressés vous à l'imprimeur. On ne le connait pas—Au libraire, cela se vend en cachette en ce cas là, meprisès les, et laisés nous tranquilles.

Voila à coup sur ce que l'on me dirait ; mais j'avoue que cela ne me suffit pas avec vous, et que je dois à la bienveillance que vous m'avés témoignée, de vous montrer et de vous faire connaitre l'homme que vous avés accueilli. Je vais donc jetter avec vous, et pour vous seul, un coup d'œil sur l'odieux bouquin dont il est question.

Il commence par dire que j'étais comme ci-devant sous le nom de *Chevalier de la Touche*—quoique ceci ne soit pas une injure, c'est encore un mensonge et prouve combien il me connait, Vous savés quelle est ma famille, mon grandpére en dérogeant, comme il á fait, séparè la branche á laquelle j'appartiens, du reste d'une famille fort ancienne. Avant d'être médecin, mon pere avait long-tems exercé la chirurgerie. Il est fort connu par plusieurs ouvrages sur cet art, et vous savés comment il serait facile en France, de se faire passer pour *Chevalier*, lorsque l'on à toute sa vie demeuré chez son pére *chirurgien*, comme ainsi vos gens de lettre de *Hambourg*, me declarent *connu* par un titre sous lequel je ne me suis jamais connu moi-même.

Elevé dans nos colléges ou nous recevions une éducation toute républicaine, puisque nos livres Grecs et Latins ne nous representaient

you have communicated to me whatever concerns myself in that collection, the conductors

représentaient que les vertus et les beaux traits des anciennes républiques, vous concevrés que ne connaissant le monde et la politique que par ce beau côté, il n'est point surprennant que je sois arrivé à l'age de 25 ans (j'avais 25 ans lorsque commença la révolution) avec des idées très favorables à une republique. Il y avait alors cinq ans que je voyageais dans le nord ou des affaires de commerce m'avait fait envoyer par une compagnie de Marseille. (Guis et Cousin, et Beaumarchais).

J'etais en Russie en 89, 90, et 91, j'avais sous les yeux le premier gouvernement sur lequel j'aye pu réflechir. Les journaux me peignaient la Revolution Francaise sous les couleurs les plus favorables à la liberté j'etais plein de mon Tacite et de mon Plutarque. Le Roi de France paraissait alors, dumoins dans les journaux, approuver cette Revolution. Je vous demande s'il n'etait pas assés naturel que je la visse de bon œil : je voulois revenir sur le champ en France pour respirer en fin l'air de la liberté, L'état de mes affaires ne me le permit pas. Enfin en 91, le Baron d'Estat avec lequel j'etais fort lié, revint en France, il avait une grande voiture je lui demandai une place, qu'il m'accorda, et je partis.

Arrivé à Varsovie, nous s'e journames quelques jours, pendans lesquels j'eus occasion de voir l'Abbé *Piattoli*, Sécretaire du Roi et homme de beaucoup de mérite, Il me dit qu'au moment de la Révolution qui venait de s'opérer, (c'etait en Mai 91) le Roi serait bien aise, que l'on fit une Gazette Francaise sur les lieux, afin que les étrangers pussent connaitre les discussions de la Diette, autrement que par les mauvaises traductions qui en circulaient. Je ne résistai pas au plaisir d'écrire mes idées long-tems enfermées dans ma tête, et je commencai la Gazette de Varsovie. Je n'eus pas fait trois numeros, que j'appris que le Roi trouvait mes pensées trop libres, et que je ne louai pas assés les discours et les mesures du parti royal : on voulait ensuite que je me prononçasse contre la Revolution de France qui me paraissait superbe, et que j'inserasse des morceaux trés violens de M. Burke que le Roi traduisait et m'en-

of

of which have contrived to calumniate even those whose characters they themselves knew to

voyait. Je refusai de me soumettre à ce que je regardais comme une tyrannie, et je ne fis que douze numeros de cette Gazette. J'employai le tems que je restai à Varsovie, à receuillir des notes sur la maniére dont s'était opéré la Revolution du 3 Mai 91, et vins à Paris, faire imprimer une histoire de cette Revolution. C'est bien un des plus mauvais ouvrages qui aient paru en ce genre, quoiqu'il ait eu l'honneur de deux editions; et de plusieurs traductions. Au reste il avait le mérite de ne renfermer que des faits vrais; et je crois que c'est ce qui à le plus contribuè à le faire tomber.

Je n'allai jamais à la société des jacobins, mais mon mauvais ouvrage ayant été assés bien traité par *Condorcet* sous le raport des principes, je fus regardé dans ma section comme un patriote, et le soir du 10 Aoust 1792, on m'apprit que j'avais été nommé membre du conseil général d'une nouvelle commune. Je me rendis au poste qu'on m'indiquait, et quatre jours aprés, Tallien, qui ne me connaissait que par mon ouvrage, me proposa pour Secretaire. Je fus nommé le 14 ou le 15 Aoust, Secretaire de la Commune.

Les fonctions d'un Secretaire de la Commune de Paris, se reduisent à assister à la séance, à prendre note de ce qui s'y passe, à en rediger un procès verbal, à signer les patentes et les passeports: du réste le secretaire n'a ni avis ni ordre à donner, et n'est jamais consulté sur rien. Cependant j'etais loin de trouver agréable ce qui se passait. Je n'avois vue ni dans Tacite, ni dans Plutarque que pour etre republicain, il fallut etre criard, despote, persécuteur ou aumoins denonciateur; le dégoût de ma position perça malgré moi, et les plus fins commencérent à me regarder comme un modéré. Beaucoup de royalistes tremblans venaient chez moi et me demandaient, les uns des passeports, les autres des conseils. Il se repandit alors parmi ces Messieurs, que je n'etais point un patriote comme les autres, et que l'on pouvait se confier à moi. J'en ai beaucoup vu alors que, je ne connaissais pas le moins du monde; et à qui je tachai d'être utile.

be unimpeachable. With respect to the advice that you give me, to apply to these malevolent

M. de Flahautt dont on connait le malheureux sort, fut du nombre de ceux qui me venaient voir le plus souvent ; il ne concevait pas qu'on put être patriote et humain et obligeant ; et moi je ne concevai pas sa surprise. Il essaya de me ramener aux idées royalistes ; mais sa logique n'etait pas assés robuste at je croyais alors de trés bonne foi, que presque toute la France voulait maintenir la Revolution.

Un journal rédigé par Etienné Feuillant, ayant un jour inserré un article signé *Mebée*, dans lequel an proposait de tuer le premier qui voudrait être Roi, je me rendis chez le journaliste pour savoir pourquoi il avait ainsi usé de mon nom ; il me montra une lettre qu'il avait reçue par la poste, et qu'il avoit copiée dans son journal. Je reconnus facilement que la signature ne resemblait pas même à la mienne, et voulai réclamer contre cette insertion ; mais j'en fus heureusement empêché par quelqu'un qui m'apprit que c'etait un piège qui m'etait tendu par le nommé Chaumette, procureur de la commune. J'appris que ce misérable avait usé du même moyen à l'égard de plusieurs personnes dont il n'etait pas sûr : il les fesait ainsi se prononcer dans les journaux par des lettres de sa façon. Si ces personnes réclamaient et désavouaient les lettres, elles étaient perdues, parce que dans ces momens terribles, oser dire qu'on n'etait pas un *Brutus* était se vouer à une mort certaine. M. de Flahautt fut le premier à m'engager à me taire; il regardait même cet incident comme assés heureux parcequ'au moyen de l'air republicain qu'il me donnait, je pourrais être plus utile au Roi que nous songions á sauver.

Les mêmes considérations m'empêcherent de quitter ma place, comme je le voulais dés lors ; mais les massacres de Septembre ayant eu lieu, et les assemblées electorales s'etant ouvert sous ces affreux auspices, je ne pus pas me contenir d'advantage et j'ecrivis une lettre aux 48 sections de Paris, pour leur denoncer Robespierre et ses manœuvres. Cette lettre affichée partout Paris, fut bruleé dans presque toutes les sections par les amis du tyran, *plus de* 40 *procés verbeaux encore existans*, at-

insinuations

insinuations, I beg you to reflect, that the publication is anonymous, and even without a pub-

testent l'improbation que j'essuyais alors ; et plus de 40 députations vinrent demander à la *commune* de chasser l'aristocrate qui avait osé attaquer *le vertueux Robespierre*. Je fus alors regardé à la commune comme un royaliste deguisé, lorsque moi, je me croyais le seul republicain de l'assemblée.

Il n'etait pas facile même de donner sa démission, car alors on était doublement suspect. Mr. Flahautt d'ailleurs m'avait fait promettre de rester jusqu'aprés le procés du Roi, et j'étais tres décidé, à empêcher de tout mon pouvoir un crime que je croyais, d'ailleurs aussi contraire aux intérets de la liberté qu'il était atroce. M. Flahautt se rendit dans un port de mer, d'ou il me fesait passer des ballots des memoires de M. Bertrand en faveur du Roi, et des sommes d'argent que je remettais aux addresses qui m'etaient données.

Ce ne fut pas sans de grands dangers que je m'acquitta de ces commissions. Je craignais en oûtre, d'être trahis par les porteurs de Mr. Flahautt, et par quelques écarts de son zele plus ardent, qu'éclairé pour son prince. Je composai, et fis composer des placards, qui furent imprimés chez Guillot, dont j'ai remis les reçus à Madame Bertrand. Enfin tous nos efforts ayant été inutile, le Roi ayant peri ; et Mr. de Flahautt l'ayant suivi peu apres ; epouvanté des crimes qui m'entouraient et des dangers que je courais moi même, je declarai au conseil que mon projet etait d'aller à l'armée, c'etait le seul moyen de donner ma démission, sans exciter des soupçons. Le plaisir d'être debarassé de moi et de pouvoir disposer de ma place, fit qu'on accepta mon offre sans ballance. Je deviens inspecteur general des équipages d'artillerie, et je restai dans cette place tranquille et obscur, jusqu'à ce qu'un représentant du peuple m'ayant rencontré et se souvenant de ma querelle avec Robespierre, prit un arrêté par lequel il me déclare aristocrate, indigne d'être chef des charretiers et me destitue.

Si les gens de lettres de Hambourg avaient été obligés à cette époque d'ecrire ma vie, je ne sais pas où ils auraient trouvé ce

lisher's name; and that, it is almost universally admitted, aspersions which none dare avow,

qu'ils en ont dit, car j'étais bien alors pour tous les jacobins, suspect, et archi-suspect; j'étais relegué à 20 lieues des frontiers, et à 20 lieus de Paris. Heureusement je ne fus pas assés bête pour obeïr; car je savais que c'était dans ces deux rayons qu'on arrêtait tous ceux que l'on voulait perdre. J'allai à Meux, lieu de ma naissance, où je restai tranquille jusqu'au 9 Thermidor.

L'Essai que j'avais fait d'une république n'etait pas fort attrayant; mais par malheur je me persuadai, que c'étaient les gens persécutés comme moi qui étaient les republicains, et lorsque le regne de Robespierre cessa, je ne doutai pas un moment que les beaux siécles d'Athénes ne dussent enfin succéder à tant d'horreurs.

Cependant Robespierre n'était pas mort tout entier. Sa queue menaçait encore de la continuer, tout le monde tremblait, et personne n'osait ecrire un mot contre les jacobins. Je commençai l'attaque par un pamphlet, que j'intitulai la *Queue de Robespierre*; les jacobins jettérent les hauts cris, le fameux *Fouché* qui depuis m'a deporté comme *jacobin*, monta alors à la tribune de *jacobins*, et denonça la Queue de Robespierre. *Thuriot*, membre du comité de salut public, la fit arrêté chez l'imprimeur; mais il en avait deja paru plus de 60 mille exemplaires. Je sentis le danger de ne pas l'importer dans cette occasion, et je publiai un second pamphlet intitulè *Rendés moi ma Queue*, ou lettre à *Sartius Thuriot*. Un mandat d'arret fut lancé contre moi, par le commitè de salut public. J'y repondis par un troisieme pamphlet, intitulé, Defens ta *Queue*, alors ayant eu le bonheur de faire rire de mes persécuteurs, tout le monde écrivit contre eux; et pendant deux mois on n'entendait parler que de *queues* dans Paris.

C'est alors que commença, ce que les jacobins appellérent la ré-action, c'est à dire que les royalistes entreprirent de renverser, non pas la république, qui, suivant moi, n'a jamais existé, mais la Révolution. Par malheur pour la cause du Roi, les royalistes ont aussi leurs jacobins, qui lui font tout le mal, que les autres ont fait à la république. Des gens qui avaient servis

deserve

deserve only the contempt of virtuous men. When more daring calumniators openly attacked

sous toutes les bannières de la Gironde et de Robespierre voulurent m'enroller sous celles des royalistes. Je ne les estimais pas assés pour les suivre de confiance. Je n'etais pas alors persuadé, que la republique fut impossible; je refusai de me joindre à eux.

Alors, et seulement alors, furent imaginées les calomnies dont on m'a assailli depuis. Madame *Beauharnois*, aujourd'hui femme du Consul, me fit inviter de passer chez elle, et aprés m'avoir engagé inutilement à me joindre à ceux dont elle fesait alors sa société; elle m'annonça qu'on allait publier un écrit que j'avais signé étant à la commune: on lui en avait laissé une copie qu'elle me montra. Cet écrit etait un ordre donné par quelques officiers municipaux, de payer trois ouvriers, qui avaient travaillé à une prison. J'avais, à ce que l'on prétendait, légalisé la signature de ces officiers municipaux; et comme tout cela paraissait fort simple, on prétendait que ces ouvriers étaient des assassins; et en effet ce fut ainsi que l'on fut obligé de traduire le mot ouvrier, pour trouver quelque chose de reprimandable dans ce billet.

J'observai que la commune était chargée de l'entretien des prisons, et que tous les jours on payait les ouvriers; qu'il etait absurde de prétendre 4 ans aprés, que le mot ouvrier signifiait assassin; qu'au reste ce n'était pas moi, mais trois officiers municipaux qui avaient donné l'ordre, et que pour legaliser des signatures, un homme public, n'est dans l'usage de s'occuper du corps de l'ecrit, mais des seules signatures.

Tout cela était sans replique, mais on ne voulait qu'un prétexte. Un journaliste inserra un jour, que j'avais signé des bons de payement pour des assassins. Je le traduisis devant les tribunaux et le fis condamner; mais cela n'a pas empêché les gens de lettres qui font des Dictionnaires *Biographiques* de copier ces calomnies; ils en sont quittes pour ne point mettre de noms d'auteur ni de libraires. Dans les places que j'ai occupées, soit à la guerre, soit aux relations exterieures, j'ai toujours été persécuté par les gouvernans,

my

my character at Paris, I immediately cited them before the proper tribunals, and obtained justice:

qui se sont succédés. Il est incroyable qu'un homme aussi méchant que je suis peint dans ce Dictionnaire, n'est pu convenir ni à *Robespierre*, ni à *Barras*, ni à *Rewbel*, ni à *Merlin*, ni à *Buonaparte*.

Le Dictionnaire Biographique me fait secretaire de Tallien. Certes je n'aurais pas voulu de Tallien pour mon secretaire, comment l'eussai-je choisi pour mon maitre? Il me fait denoncé par le même Tallien, ce qui ne'st pas plus vrai que le reste. Il dit que j'ai fait avec Tallien le Journal des Patriotes de 89; si vous voulez lire l'article Réal, vous verréz que c'est à Réal qu'il attribute ce journal. Il pretend que je l'ai signé *Felhémési*. Je n'ai signé ainsi que les trois queues que je vous envoye. Jamais le nom de *Felhémési* n'a paru dans le journal en question; les articles que j'y ai mis sont tous signés Mehée. Il m'attribue les principes de Marat, lorsqu'il est connu par tous ce qui sait lire en France, que je suis abhorré par tous les partisans de ce fol fanatique, pour avoir sans cesse attaqué ses principes. Enfin il prétend que j'ai excité le peuple à se défaire des terroristes lorsqu'il est notoire que je ne me suis attiré la haine et les persécutions de tous les partis, que pour m'être en tout tems opposé aux injustices qu'ils voulaient commettre. Un royaliste furieux est pour moi un terroriste comme un autre, et je ne crois pas que la cause royale puisse rien gagner à suivre des mesures qui ont perdu pour jamais la cause republicaine.

Voila, mon cher Monsieur, ce qui m'est arrivé dans la Révolution; les crimes des gens qui se sont dit républicains m'auraient éclairé beaucoup plutôt sur l'impossibilité d'une république en France, si les injustices de ceux qui se disaient royalistes, ne m'avaient fair voir partout le même systême de fureurs et de proscriptions. Enfin l'experience et le tems ont prôduit en moi un effet qu'ils pouvaient seuls produire. J'ai vu que tous ceux qui s'étaient présentés comme les plus fiers champions de la liberté, étaient de vils hypocrites qui n'attendaient que de l'argent et du pouvoir pour changer de langage. Je serais encore républicain, si j'eusse trouvé beaucoup de

when

when the Moniteur, two years since, officially repeated the same calumnies, I felt myself

républicains honnêtes et justes. Je ne veux pas me faire à vos yeux meilleurs que je ne suis : il y a deja long-tems que je suis converti ; mais c'est a force de voir des lachetés et des trahisons que je me suis persuadé qu'une rèpublique était impossible en France. Mon gout particulier m'eut porté à désirer de vivre sous une republique, et je ne désire aujourd'hui sincèrement le rétablissement de la royautè, que parceque je sais fort bien que ce n'est pas de mon gout qu'il s'agit, et qu'il n'y à de tranquillité à espérer en France, que lorsqu'un Roi juste aura fait oublier par sa sagesse, les malheurs occasionnés par les dissentions publiques.

Vous voyéz assés que je ne me suis pas peint en beau dans cette esquisse que je broche à la hâte. Je sais qu'un royaliste aussi prononcé que vous, ma pardonnera difficilement des idées aussi differentes des votres ; mais en me rapprochant de vous, je ne veux tromper personne, sur ce que j'ai été. Je ne me defendrai jamas d'avoir eu des opinions que je ne me suis pas données moi même, mais lorsqu'il s'agira de mes actions, je serai toujors prêt à paraitre davant tous les tribunaux du monde ; et le plus sévére sera celui que je préférerai.

Agrées, Monsieur, l'assurance de la parfaite consideration, avec laquelle je suis, Monsieur,

Votres trés humble et obeissant Serviteur,

MEHEE DE LA TOUCHE.

P. S. Je n'ai pas repondu a l'article où l'on me dit chassé de Russie en 92. Il y avait 18 mois que j'en etais parti avec le Baron d'Estat, qui était lui même au service de Russie et qui à coup sûr, n'eut pas donné dans sa voiture une place à un homme qui aurait été chassé d'un pays, où il servait comme major.

Je ne répons pas davantage à ce qui est dit de ma traduction devant les tribunaux, comme escroc et chef d'une compagnie de fournisseurs, c'est la premiere nouvelle que j'en recois, et les gens de lettres de Hambourg, ne sont pas à cet égard, d'accord avec leurs camarades de Paris.

somewhat

somewhat embarrassed; for if the article was introduced by order of the First Consul, and I had prosecuted either the Editor of the Moniteur, or those who had copied from it the paragraphs in question, it was generally believed that my arrest and transportation would have been the consequence, since the despot might have feared that his journal would have been condemned.

During my stay in London, when I learned that Mr. Richer Serisy propagated similar calumnies against me, as he was a gentleman deserving a reply, you know I lost not a moment in coming to an explanation with him. I found him oppressed by sickness and misfortune; he acknowledged that, regarding me as an enemy to the royalists, he had expressed himself very harshly concerning me, and he did not deny having read every thing that you have shewn me. I perceived that the censures of Mr. Richer were altogether directed by what he had heard and read. I demonstrated to him that I had never occupied those situations which he supposed; and he was, I soon discovered, unacquainted with the persecutions that I had experienced. In this case it happened, as will always happen, when people of candour are willing to examine and judge a man by his actions,

and

and not from the abuse that the parties engaged in a revolution throw on their enemies.

This has uniformly been my mode of conduct; and if, in the present instance, any one will boldly avow the facts contained in the Dictionary, I give you my word of honour to prove, in the clearest possible manner, that he is a knave and a false calumniator.

But when a malignant libel relates as facts, circumstances which have already been several times declared to be unfounded, not only by the solemn decisions of the tribunals, but by the opinion of every honest man, what would you have me do? Would you have me appear before the public, and say—It is not true that I am a terrorist, a Maratist, an assassin?—every one would hold me in derision, and say to me, why do you not rid yourself of your fears?—Because I have been accused:—Who has accused you?—The men of letters of Hamburgh:—Go, then, and find them:—But I know them not:—Write to the Printer:—His name does not appear to the work:—To the Publisher:—It is sold privately:—Despise it, then, and leave us at rest. Such would be the language held to me by the world in general; but I acknowledge that I owe something more to you, and that the friendship

you

you have testified towards me, requires I should make you acquainted with the man you have cherished: I shall therefore, proceed to give you a succinct account of the odious business in question.

This production sets out by stating, that I was formerly known by the title of the *Chevalier de la Touche;* now, although this is certainly no injury, it is nevertheless a falsehood, and shews how little he knew of my relations. My grandfather, by derogating, as he has done, from his dignity, separated the branch to which I belong from a very ancient family. My father, before becoming a physician, had long practised surgery, and is well known by several publications in this branch of science; and you know how easy it was in France, for any one to pass for a Chevalier, who had all his life remained in the house of his father, a celebrated surgeon. The literati of Hamburgh declare, that I was known by a title, which I myself never heard. Brought up in one of our colleges, in which we receive what may be justly termed a republican education, since the Greek and Latin authors that we read exhibit the most fascinating pictures of the ancient republics; you must be sensible that, knowing the world and republics only through that seducing

seducing medium, it was not surprising that I should, at twenty-five, which was my age at the commencement of the Revolution, possess ideas very favourable to a republican form of government. At that period I had been five years in the North of Europe, whither I had been sent on commercial concerns by a house at Marseilles (Guis, Cousin, and Beaumarchais). I was in Russia in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791: I had under my eyes the only government I could practically examine. The journals depicted the French Revolution in colours the most auspicious to liberty. My head teemed with Tacitus and Plutarch. The King of France appeared at that time, if I could credit the representations in the journals, to approve of the Revolution. I ask if it was not natural that I should regard it favourably? I longed to return instantly to France, that I might breathe the air of liberty; but my affairs did not permit me to indulge my wishes. In 1791, however, the Baron D'Estat, with whom I had intimate connexions, returned to France; and as he travelled in a carriage in which there was spare room, I begged he would allow me to occupy an empty seat, a request which he readily granted; and I accordingly departed with him.

Having

Having arrived at Warsaw, the Baron remained some days in that city; during which I had occasion to visit the Abbé Piattoli, Secretary to the King, and a man of great merit, who informed me, that in the beginning of the Revolution which had just happened (May 1791), the King was very desirous to see a Gazette published in the French language, and on the spot, that foreigners might read the discussions of the Diet otherwise than in the defective translations which were in circulation. Eagerly seizing on the opportunity of publishing opinions that held an eminent place in my affections, I commenced the *Warsaw Gazette;* but I had only published three numbers, when I was informed that the King thought my opinions too free, and that I did not sufficiently praise the speeches and measures of the royal party. It was afterwards proposed to me, that I should declare myself against the French Revolution, which I then thought sublime, and that I should insert in my journal some of the most violent passages from Mr. Burke's work, which the King translated, and sent to me. I refused compliance with a mandate that I thought tyrannical, and I published only twelve numbers of that Gazette. The remainder of the time I continued at Warsaw was employed by

by me in collecting materials for tracing the causes of the Revolution of the 3d of May 1791, and I proceeded to Paris to publish my history of that Revolution. I do not dispute that it may be one of the worst productions of the kind, although it had the honour to go through two editions, and was translated into several languages. It had, however, the merit of containing nothing but facts; and this I believe to be the reason that it has since fallen into discredit.

I never went to the society of jacobins; but my work was well spoken of by Condorcet, on account of the principles displayed in it: I was considered in my section as a patriot; and on the evening of the 10th of August, 1792, was informed that I had been nominated a member of the Council General of a new commune. I accepted this situation, and four days afterwards Tallien, to whom I was only known by my publications, proposed me as secretary, and on the 14th or 15th of August I was appointed Secretary of the Commune.

The functions of a Secretary of a Commune in Paris is confined to the being present at the sittings, making minutes of what passes, drawing up a report of the proceedings, and signing passports.

passports. The Secretary has no authority to issue orders, and is never consulted on any kind of business.

I was far however, from finding my situation agreeable. I had read neither in Tacitus nor Plutarch, that in order to be a republican it was necessary to be a furious despot, a persecutor, or, at least, a denunciator. The disgust that I felt became evident, notwithstanding my efforts to conceal it, and I soon began to be considered as a moderé; many of the royalists came trembling to my house, in order to request passports, or to solicit my advice: it having got abroad among these gentlemen that I was not a patriot like the others, and that I might be trusted, I saw many of them with whom I was wholly unacquainted, and to whom I endeavoured to render every service in my power.

M. de Flahautt, whose unfortunate fate is well known, was among the number of those who visited me most frequently. He could not persuade himself that it was possible for any one possessed of benevolence and humanity to be a patriot, and I could not convince him of his mistake. He endeavoured to convert me to royalism, but his logic was not sufficiently powerful to produce this effect, as I was fully persuaded

that

that a majority of the French nation was inclined to support the Revolution.

A journal conducted by Etienne, who was a Feuillant, having one day inserted an article signed Mehée, in which it was proposed to kill the first individual who should aspire to be King, I called on the Editor to know why he had thus made use of my name; on which he put into my hand a letter which he had copied into his journal. The signature did not even resemble mine, and I resolved to prosecute the journal; but was prevented by one who informed me that it was a snare spread for me by Chaumette, *Procureur* to the commune, and that he had used the same artifice with many persons, respecting whose political creed he had any doubts. His practice was, to publish similar letters in their names, and if they disavowed the articles they were lost; for at that period, to deny being a Brutus was certain death. M. de Flahault was the first who persuaded me to be silent respecting this affair. He even considered it as a very fortunate circumstance; since, by means of the republican air it gave me, I could be more useful to the King, whom we were labouring to save.

The same motives prevented me from resigning my office, which, after that affair, I wished to

to do. But the massacres of September taking place, and the Electoral Assemblies having opened under these frightful auspices, I could no longer restrain my feelings, and I addressed a letter to the forty-eight sections of Paris, denouncing Robespierre and his machinations. This letter, posted up in every part of Paris, was burnt in almost every section by the tyrant's friends: *more than forty procés verbaux, still existing*, attest the opprobrium that I then endured; and more than forty deputations came to my commune, to demand the dismissal of the aristocrat who had dared to denounce the *virtuous* Robespierre. I was then regarded at the commune as a disguised royalist, whilst I thought myself the only true republican of the assembly.

It was not easy to procure my dismission, as I was suspected by both parties. M. Flahautt had besides made me promise to remain until the trial of the King; and I was myself determined to exert all my influence to prevent a crime which I was convinced would be as inimical to the true interests of liberty, as it was wicked in itself.

M. de Flahautt repaired to one of our seaport towns, whence he transmitted me some packets of M. Bertrand's Memoirs in favour of the

the King, as well as several sums of money, which I remitted according to the directions that had been given to me.

It was not without considerable danger that I acquitted myself of these commissions: I dreaded being betrayed by the messengers of M. de Flahautt, and by the effusions of his zeal for his Prince, which were more ardent than enlightened. I myself wrote, and caused to be written, placards, which were printed at the house of Guillot, to whom I transmitted the receipts for M. de Bertrand. All my efforts, however, proved unavailing—the King perished, and M. Flahautt soon experienced the same fate. Appalled by the crimes which surrounded me, and terrified by the dangers that threatened myself, I intimated to the Council a desire to join the army, aware that it was the only means to obtain my dismission without exciting suspicions of my civism. The pleasure they felt at being rid of my presence, and having my place at their disposal, induced them to accept my resignation without delay. I was appointed Inspector-General of the Artillery, in which obscure and tranquil situation I remained until one of the representatives of the people, knowing me, and recollecting the quarrel I had with Robespierre,

published an arreté, by which I was declared an aristocrat, unworthy of holding any post in the army, and dismissed from it.

If the Literati of Hamburgh had been then obliged to write my life, they would have found it difficult to invent what they have now affirmed, because at that period I was very much suspected by the jacobins. I was ordered to repair to the interior of the country, twenty leagues from Paris, and twenty from the frontiers. Happily I was not stupid enough to obey this order, as it was principally in these two districts that all those were arrested, whom they had determined to destroy. I proceeded to Meaux, the place of my birth, where I was suffered to remain in tranquillity until the 9th Thermidor.

The trial that I had made of a republic was not very attractive, but unhappily I persuaded myself that individuals persecuted like me were the only true republicans; and when the reign of Robespierre ceased, I hesitated not to believe that the splendid days of Athens would succeed to so many horrors!

The Robespierrian faction was, however, not yet extinct—a remnant of them still threatened to prolong the reign of terror: every one trembled, and none dare open their mouths against the

the jacobins, when I began the attack by a pamphlet entitled, "*The Tail of Robespierre.*" This production was haughtily received by the jacobins. The *notorious* Fouché, who afterwards deported me as a jacobin, ascended the tribune of the jacobins, and denounced the work in question. Thuriot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, seized it in the house of the printer, but there had already appeared of it more than 60,000 copies.

Perceiving the danger which threatened me on this occasion, I published a pamphlet, entitled, "*Give me back my Tail,*" or a Letter to *Sartine Thuriot.* A warrant of arrest was issued against me by the Committee of Public Safety; to which I replied by a third pamphlet, entitled, "*Defend thy Tail:*" having by this had the good fortune to raise the laugh against my persecutors, every one began to write against them, and during two months nothing was spoken of but *Tails* in Paris.

It was then that the re-action, as it is termed by the jacobins, commenced; that is to say, that the royalists entered on the design, not of overturning the Republic, for according to me it never existed, but the Revolution. Unfortunately for the cause of the King, the royalists

2

had also their jacobins, who brought on them all the miseries which the others had produced to the Republic. Those individuals who had served under the banners of the Gironde, and Robespierre, inclined to rank me among the royalists; but I had not sufficient confidence in them to unite myself to their party, neither was I yet fully convinced that the establishment of a Republic was impossible.

Then, and not till then, were the calumnies conceived which have since assailed me. Madame de Beauharnois, at present the wife of the First Consul, invited me to an interview at her house; and having in vain endeavoured to induce me to join those who at that time formed her society, she gave me to understand that they would publish an order which I had signed at the commune: a copy had been left with her, which she shewed, it was an order given by some municipal officers to pay *three workmen who had been employed in one of the prisons.* I had, as it was stated, witnessed the signature of these municipal officers; and it was pretended that these *workmen* were *assassins.* Thus it was that they found themselves compelled to interpret the word *workmen*, to find cause of calumny in this transaction.

I observed

I observed that the commune was charged with the care of the prisons, and that the workmen were paid at the end of each day; that it was therefore absurd to pretend at the termination of four years, that the term *workmen* signified *assassins*: besides, it was well known that three municipal officers always gave the orders, and that their signatures were only witnessed by a public functionary, as a mere matter of form, who signed them without perusing the contents.

It was impossible to reply to this statement; but they wished for a pretext. It was accordingly asserted by one of their journalists, that I had signed the orders for the payment of the assassins; and I cited him before the proper tribunal, where he was condemned; but even that, it seems, has not been sufficient to deter the conductors of *Biographical Dictionaries* from repeating the same calumnies.

In every situation that I have occupied, I have been always persecuted by the governing party: and it is incredible that a man so unprincipled as I am represented to be, should not have suited the purposes either of Robespierre, Barras, Rewbel, Merlin, or Buonaparte.

In the *Biographical Dictionary* I am said to

have been the secretary of Tallien; certainly I would not have wished Tallien for my secretary: how then should I chuse him for a master?—It is affirmed in the same work, that I was denounced by Tallien, which is not more true than the other assertions. It is likewise said, that I conducted, in conjunction with Tallien, the Patriotic Journal of 1789. If you read the article Real, you will see that it is to him this journal must be attributed. It is pretended that I wrote under the signature of Felhémési. I never employed this name but in the three pamphlets already mentioned, which I herewith send you. Never did the name of Felhémési appear in the journal in question; the articles that I communicated to it are all signed *Mehée*. It also attributes to me the principles of *Marat*, although it is well known in France, that I was detested by the partisans of that foolish fanatic, and that I unceasingly attacked his principles. In short, it is pretended that I excited the people to become terrorists, when it is notorious that I incurred the hatred and persecution of all parties, by constantly opposing the injustice which they were inclined to commit.—A furious royalist is with me as much a terrorist as any other, and I believe the cause of royalty can never

never be forwarded by measures which have for ever destroyed the Republic.

I have laid before you, my Lord, what has happened to me during the Revolution. The crimes of persons stiling themselves republicans would have much sooner convinced me of the impossibility of establishing a Republic in France, if the injustice of those who called themselves royalists had not discovered to me, that on each side the same system of oppression and proscription prevailed. In a word, experience and time have produced in me an effect which they alone could produce. I have seen that those who represented themselves as the fiercest champions of liberty were vile hypocrites, who waited only for gold or power to change their language. I should still have been a republican, had I found many republicans honest and just. I do not wish to represent myself to you better than I really am. It is long since I became a convert. But it was from contemplating the crimes and treasons which prevailed, that I became convinced that a Republic was impossible in France. My own particular taste led me to wish to live under a republican form of government; and I at present sincerely desire the re-establishment of royalty, only because I well know, that the

question is not respecting my taste, and that tranquillity can never be hoped for in France, till a just and wise king shall, by his wisdom, have caused the evils occasioned by the public dissensions to be forgotten.

You will observe, that I have not depicted myself better than I am in this hasty sketch. I am aware that a royalist as determined as yourself, will with difficulty pardon sentiments so very different from your own; but I shall never have to reproach myself with deceiving any person respecting what I have been: I will never apoligize for maintaining opinions that I did not give to myself, but when my actions are attacked, I am always ready to appear before the tribunal of the public, and court the most severe investigation into my conduct.

Accept, my Lord, the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's very humble,
and obedient Servant,
MEHEE DE LA TOUCHE.

P. S. I have not answered the article which affirms that I was sent out of Russia in 1792. I departed with the Baron D'Estat, who was in the service

service of Russia, and who certainly would not have given a place in his carriage to a man driven from a country in which he served as a Major.

Nor do I answer the charge which states that I was carried before a tribunal as chief of a horde of knavish contractors: This is the first time I ever heard of the charge; and in this, the Literary Society of Hamburgh do not accord with their brethren at Paris.

This curious piece, though artfully written, imposes upon nobody. By its publication, and the *fac simile* of Mehée's hand-writing, the Author's object is to prevent other Governments from being the dupes of the artifice and hypocrisy of this member of Buonaparte's Secret Police, and to recommend him to due chastisement, should he present himself any where else but in the French Republic; *alone worthy* to possess such a citizen, even in the Legion of Honour of her *august* Chief.

All Governments, particularly those at war, mutually employ spies, to gain information, and to impede or counteract, by their intrigues, the attempts of an enemy. This usage existed long before society was civilized. The barbarians

of former ages, as well as the present savages in America; the half-civilized Indians in Asia, as well as the so barbarously civilized French republicans in Europe, had, or have yet their spies in other countries. The laws of nations do not permit such practices; but by their silence they indirectly assent to them, at least to a certain point, or *so far as they may be useful to force an enemy to be just.* The illegal usurpation and the tyranny of Buonaparte's government make almost every thing excusable, that might compel this ferocious adventurer to descend again to that situation wherein nature by his birth had placed him. And when, as is now the case, his monstrous ambition and power are the sole causes of the agitated, disturbed, tormented, oppressed, or enslaved state of most European nations; when the quiet and liberty of millions are only prevented by the unlawful authority of an obscure individual; to remove him is not only commanded by necessity, but necessary for self-defence; commendable as a political act, and honourable as a moral transaction.

That Mehée was a spy first of France, and afterwards of England, is more than probable; but that his pretended correspondence with Mr. Drake,

Drake, published with so much *eclat* by Buonaparte, in his official libel the Moniteur, and afterwards communicated with so much ostentation by his official libeller, Talleyrand, to the foreign diplomatic corps, are mostly forgeries, is evident from their ridiculous, absurd, and puerile contents themselves. It is not to be forgotten, that at every one of the former disastrous periods of the French Revolution, when any great blow was intended to be struck, or when a great crime was meditated, discoveries have been made, *apropos*, of documents undoubtedly forged in the offices of the government, or in the dens of the conspirators; for the purpose of holding out the advantage either of changing or ensuring the republican tyranny; either to extenuate past horrors, or to disguise present abominations. Papers found in an iron chest, in 1792 were produced by the regicides upon the mock trial of Louis XVI. Other papers, found in a portfolio on the ramparts of Lille, were published in 1794 to palliate the barbarous decree of no quarter to English prisoners; and a correspondence *captured apropos* in an Austrian waggon *(fourgon)*, was printed on the day of the revolution of the 4th of September 1797, as a justification of the *liberticide* Directory for having,

ing, *without a trial*, condemned Pichegru and several hundred other representatives of the people, or citizens, to transportation during their lives.

On the 24th of March (1804), when these pretended letters and instructions of Mr. Drake were printed, the indignation of all parties in France was great against the First Consul, for the cruel and unnecessary murder of the Duke of Enghien two days before. To divert the public attention from this crime, and to turn the public hatred from him upon England, the revolutionary assassin became a political forger. Another *coup d'etat* was besides then preparing. In four days more, or on the 28th, the slavish French Senate presented, *by orders*, an address inviting and praying their foreign tyrant, not only to change his rank and dignity, but the dynasty; to make the Corsican scoundrels, the vile and petty Buonapartes, the hereditary sovereigns of a throne, which for fourteen centuries has been the hereditary property of the French Bourbons.

On comparing these epochas, it requires neither information nor genius, but common sense only, to see the internal evidence of the forgery which this publication carries with it; and those foreign

ministers

ministers at Paris who looked upon it in any other light were either despicable ideots, traitors bought over by the Corsican's gold, or cowards trembling at the Corsican's bayonets.

From what has happened in France during these last fifteen years, it would not be surprising if Mehée de la Touche, from a known spy, were to be advanced to a place in the republican ministry; and that those foreign agents who now cannot but depise him, even in *officially* acknowledging his veracity, should then be obliged to dance attendance in his ante-chamber, bow at his levees, and, by his command, subscribe to future forgeries of future spies. With the exception of *some few*, all the others deserve such humiliations; because it is difficult to say which is the most disgusting to a loyal and virtuous mind, the conduct of Buonaparte, of Mehée, or that of some members of the Foreign Diplomatic Corps at Paris.

Mehée de la Touche is near forty-two years of age, but does not appear to be thirty-six. He is a very handsome man, six feet two inches high, well-proportioned, has a round face, fair hair, and a smiling prepossessing countenance. Besides French, he speaks some Italian, English, Polish and German. His intelligence and insinuating

muating manners, his *savoir vivre*, and his hypocritical though enthusiastic praise of virtue and liberty, make him, with his other personal qualities, to the good and unsuspicious, one of the most dangerous of all the infamous and unprincipled men who have weltered in the mire of the French Revolution*.

* Most of the particulars of Mehée's life and conduct are taken from *Les Annales du Terrorisme*; from *Dictionnaire Biographique*; from *Recueil d'Anecdotes*; and from *Histoire General*, by Prudhomme.

GARAT,

BUONAPARTE'S FAVOURITE SENATOR.

Comme ce roitelet sans pitié vous assomme
Par son bavardage érudit !
C'est un savant sans concredit ;
Mais que lui manque-il en somme !
Rien, excepté d'etre honnête homme,
Et de comprendre ce qu'il dit.

A. DANICAN.

GARAT is a Gascon by birth, and his whole literary, political, philosophical and revolutionary life, has been a despicable, dangerous, and cruel gasconade masquerade. Poor, half-learned, ambitious, and immoral, he, in 1788, preached in the *Journal de Paris*, of which he was one of the editors, contempt and proscription of rank and riches, which he had no prospect of ever possessing; held out the advantage of an equality, by which he had every thing to gain; spoke of the comfort of modern philosophy, which he knew would bring wretchedness on millions; and placed a fashionable morality, unloosing all passions, above a religion restraining them all, and without which no happiness, no society, no morality, can exist.

In

In 1786, by the recommendation of the late Duchess of Polignac, he was appointed Professor of History at the Lyceum at Paris: he had written to her the most servile and humiliating letters, "pointing out his own unworthiness, but great misery; imploring those succours for the latter, which the former had no right to claim; praising the generosity and greatness of soul, which, on all occasions, accompanies the lustre of birth, and eminence of station; declaring her the idol of the nation, as well as the favourite of the court *."

In 1789, when his sophistical declamations in the chair as a Professor had procured him the place of a Deputy of the *Tiers Etat* for Labour, at the States General, afterwards called the National Assembly, and his benefactress became proscribed and an exile, he called her, in the *Journal de Paris*, "the most vicious of courtiers, the most debauched of courtesans, and the most ungenerous and unfeeling of her sex, whom he recommended to the sovereign people of all countries, as a fit prey for the popular lamp-posts of outraged liberty †."

In his speeches, and by his conduct in the National

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 156.

† See the same work, page 157, containing, in the note, an extract from the Journal de Paris of the 19th of December, 1789.

National Assembly, he proved himself the continual, illiberal, and incensed enemy of the King and of Monarchy; and in his incendiary writings, confounding rebellion with patriotism, envy and licentiousness with liberty, every rebel was his hero; and every anarchist, plunderer, or murderer, a persecuted patriot. He poisoned the public spirit so much, that he was put upon the same line with those of two other infamously notorious characters; and Garat, Carra, and Marat, were sung in common by the revolutionary poets, howled out by the revolutionary poissards, and detested alike by every loyal, humane, and religious person. Being governed by a cowardice equal to his treachery, he seldom ascended the tribune to speak in public; but by numerous anonymous libels in the diurnal prints of that period, he served disaffection and atheism, without endangering himself either as a deputy or as an individual. He was therefore held in such contempt, even by the contemptible plurality of the first National Assembly, that he never was elected a president, nor even a secretary.

After Louis XVI. had been forced, in September, 1791, to accept the constitution decreed by this assembly of traitors and intriguers, Garat, as he said himself, "*being without fortune, and obliged*

*obliged to live upon the world**," accepted a pension from the King's civil list, for compiling, with Rœderer and Regnault, articles for the *Journal de Paris*, and other constitutional prints, in defence of the royal democracy, contained in the lately published constitutional code. Being, of course, in the confidence of the monarchists, he sold their secrets and plans to their avowed enemies, the republicans of the Brissot and Girondist faction; who were betrayed by him, in their turn, to the anarchists of Danton's, Marat's, and Robespierre's party.

By the favour and influence of the Girondists, Condorcet, and Rabaud St. Etienne, he was, on the 9th of October, 1792, appointed a Minister of Justice. In this place, he had besides another title, having according to Prudhomme, been the official apologist for all the crimes committed since the beginning of the Revolution, and particularly for the late enormous massacre on the 10th of August, and on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September. He at this shocking period proclaimed the anxiom, that to Paris alone belonged the initiation for insurrection, for energetic exertion to save freedom, and to destroy its enemies

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* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 159, and Histoire General, par Prudhomme, tom. v. page 93.

en masse. Soon after this proclamation, the murders of prisoners and suspected persons took place every where in the provinces.

During his ministry, he conducted himself in a manner corresponding with the principles that had procured him this high rank. Charged by the regicides of the National Convention to announce to his King, the unfortunate Louis XVI. the sentence which rewarded his virtues and patriotism with the scaffold, Garat behaved with such atrocious insolence, that the members who were present, even the unfeeling and cruel Hebert, was disgusted at it; and a heart *à la Garat* has ever since been a saying in France, expressing the situation of the mind of a deliberate parricide, with the same *sang froid* ready to stab or poison his father or mother, his only brother, or his best friend*.

On the 18th of March, 1793, he exchanged the Ministry of Justice for that of the Interior. It was then, that devoted, as formerly, to the strongest party, and betraying and deserting the weakest, he planned, in concert with the Cordeliers and Jacobins, the destruction of his late protectors. "It was not only (says Prudhomme) by the usual artifices *of a blind submission to the will*

*. See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 176.

will of the people, but even by *real* and *useful* services, that Garat assisted the conspirators of the 31st of May, 1793." Such were the formal expressions of Danton at the Jacobin Club on the 16th of the following July; and his words and compliments are so much the less to be suspected, as he reproached the Minister at the same time, "with not having written enough for a cause (anarchy), for which he otherwise *had done so much*." In this manœuvre of Garat, who does *not write* for a cause that he *secretly served*, the usual duplicity of character is exhibited, which his creatures or accomplices chose to call modesty or reserve*. He was now as active in dragging his benefactors the Girondists to the scaffold, as the year before in proscribing or butchering his protectors of the constitutional party. He now served Danton and Robespierre, who were the rebellious heroes of the day; as twelve months before he had done the then revolutionary divinities, Brissot and Condorcet. Urged by Danton, to cause the constitution of 1793 to be *freely* accepted by the people, that chief of faction wrote to him:—"Order plenty of money to be distributed for this operation; do not spare it;

* See Histoire General Des Crimes, par Prudhomme, tom. v. page 466, and Journal des Jacobins, July 17, 1793.

it; the Republic always has more than it wants." To this letter the fashionable patriot Garat answered: "If money can do the business, which I do not doubt, rely entirely on me*."

After the death of Robespierre, and the destruction of the mountaineers and terrorists, Garat tried by obscurity to obtain oblivion or forgiveness; and, regarded with a just contempt by the royalists as well as by the republicans, he hoped to be enabled, undisturbed, to squander, in retirement and obscure debauchery, his ill-gotten treasures. But when, in 1796, the momentary liberty of the press made known the crimes of most men noted in the bloody records of the French Republic, Garat was attacked, accused, and held up to universal detestation, and therefore under the necessity to try to defend himself, or rather to proclaim himself a villain, in a publication, called by him "An Account of Garat's Conduct during the Revolution." The regicides, Septembrizers, murderers, and *other French patriots of principle*, having at that period lost their empire and their credit, Garat, their advocate and accomplice, attempted a reconciliation with the public, particularly with the Girondists, who were returning to

* See Dictionnaire Biographique, art. Garat.

to the revolutionary helm. In that pamphlet, containing 600 pages, which those who study the French Revolution run through, Garat calls Robespierre a *monster*, and his eloquence a *tiresome* and *perpetual repetition, an insignificant prate*, &c. Unfortunately for this heroic rhetorician, monuments remain of his admiration of the *monster* Robespierre, at the time when he was shedding streams of French blood. On the 30th of October, 1793, Garat volunteered the following letter to him, which was found among Robespierre's papers, copied from the original at the very office of the committee charged with taking a list of the contents of his port-folio, and printed by order of the National Convention, with Courtois's report. Its authority has never been denied:

"TO CITIZEN MAX. ROBESPIERRE.

"*Paris, October* 30, 1793.

"Citizen Representative!

"I have read your report upon the foreign powers, and the extracts of your last speeches to the jacobins; and having at this time no means of addressing the public, I must address yourself for a moment, upon the impression they have made upon me.

"The report struck me as a *grand piece of politics*,

politics, of republican morality, of style, and of eloquence: it is by such *profound* and *elevated sentiments* of *virtue*, and, I will add, by such language, that a man *honours* in the eyes of all nations, the nation he represents. I think no more of the merit of style, than another would, when that merit is no more than a vain ornament of language; but I call style, the art of seizing the objects of one's thought under the most extensive and truest relations; and the art of afterwards giving the relations so seized, the expressions and forms most striking to every imagination, and the most affecting to every mind. If such be the talent of style, it must be allowed that such a talent is the instrument most necessary in a Revolution, the object of which is to *improve the Government by its clearness*, and *the human race by the Government*. The style of the report upon foreign powers, *is every where neat, firm, keen, or elegant*; and when it rises *to the highest pitch of eloquence*, it is always *by the grandeur of the sentiments and ideas*.

"Your speech to Louvet, that on the sentence of Louis Capet, and this report, are, in my opinion, *the finest pieces that have appeared since the Revolution*. They will pass in the schools of the Republic as *classic models of eloquence*,

eloquence, and in the views of history as the causes that acted most powerfully upon the destiny of France.

"Health, admiration and respect!

"GARAT*."

It is the writer of such a base letter to such an atrocious man, who, in the above-mentioned pamphlet, with a sacrilegious blasphemy, has the impudence to compare himself to *Jesus Christ persecuted*, and to declare *that his fame no longer depended upon men* †.

When the revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, had placed the jacobins at the head of the government; and the Directory, to insult Monarchs, and to degrade Monarchy, sent regicides as French ambassadors to different allied or neutral Kings; Garat was appointed to the Court of Naples, where, with the insolence of an ill-bred upstart, and in the jargon of a revolutionary pedant, proud of his rank, and unashamed of his crimes, he addressed the King and Queen, plotted with their disaffected subjects, demanded and promised the enlargement of confined traitors and rebels, and publicly declared that he was ready to put himself at the head

* See Le Rapport de Courtois, page 132.

† See an account of Garat's Conduct during the Revolution, page 62.

head of that pack, once let loose, to make use of them to effect an insurrection, and to co-operate with the directorial agents then residing at Rome. Not only incensed at, but affronted by, the conduct of this violator of the laws of nations, the King of the Two Sicilies insisted upon his recall; and the Directory, to avoid giving public satisfaction to his Sicilian Majesty—but at the same time not willing to provoke a Monarch by a refusal, whom their policy then required them to cajole, caused Garat, in March 1798, to be elected a member in the Council of Five Hundred, for the Department of Seine and Oise. It was in this manner that this citizen, while a diplomatic emissary, worked for a peace, which he soon after, as a legislator, declared was his own, and the sincere wish of the Directory, as well as the want of his country, and the desire of his countrymen *.

During his stay in Italy, Garat had witnessed and shared in the pillage and extortion of his fellow-citizens. Now, one may estimate the degree of good sense, or good faith, which, in the winter of 1798, when the Directory informed

* See Garat's speech in the Council of Five Hundred on the 2d of December, 1798, printed in the daily papers called Ami des Lois, of the 3d of December, 1798, page 3.

the two Councils of the successes of the French in the kingdom of Naples, suggested to Garat a buffoonery truly worthy of observation. He invited the Legislative Body—"To pray the Government to dispense with the troops levying contributions on the *delivered* countries; so that *the blessing of liberty* might be its only object!—Garat is not stupid, and had had long revolutionary experience—he surely knew too well the revolutionary rotation, and its springs, to imagine that a government, like that of Paris, could adopt such generosity, or that he might not as well have proposed to disband their armies; but here are discovered the hypocrisy and intrigue of a revolutionary adept, attempting to exonerate his Republic of the shame of its robberies, and of the falsehood of its manifestoes, by feigning pity for its victims*.

The knowledge of Garat's character made it little doubtful what party he would embrace, when, in November 1799, Buonaparte overturned his patrons in the Directory. It therefore surprized nobody, when, after this event, he pronounced the speech in the Legislative Committee of the Ancients, which preceded and caused without farther discussion the acceptation of

* See Garat's Speech in the Council of Five Hundred, p 4.

of the Consular Constitution. In reward, Buonaparte appointed him a member of his Conservative Senate, where he has continued his tool, and approved of all the different changes and innovations, though they have almost entirely annihilated the constitution that he had sworn to preserve, and such as it was proclaimed and accepted in 1799. Some of the secret and private opinions of the Senators having been reported to Buonaparte, Garat was suspected by his comrades, and accused by the Senator Lanjuinais, of being a spy to the First Consul; but in proportion as he has lost the esteem of his fellow-citizens, the favour of Buonaparte has increased; and he is now consulted and listened to on all occasions; has his courtiers and panegyrists, bestows favours, procures advancements, and distributes pensions*.

Garat is a member of the National Institute, and has, with seven thousand other metaphysical schemers, written a treatise, entitled, "*The Art of Newly Constructing Society*, upon the Representative System, as the best form of a Republican Government among a great people." But it is impossible to mention, among the numerous republican metaphysicians, and revolutionary

* See Les Nouvelles á la Main, Messidor, an xi. No. xi. p. 7.

tionary philosophers, one more emphatic, or more void of sense; more prodigious in analysis, and more sparing in the results; more sophistical in explanations, or more false in conclusions; or, among the demagogues, a man more perfidious, more vile, or more cowardly and ungenerous. The author of a satire published in 1799, draws correctly his portrait, as a man of letters in the three following lines;

> Toujours vide de sens, et toujours plein d'emphase,
> Le compas à la main mesurant une phrase,
> Et pour ne rien trouver sans cesse analysant, Garat, &c.

As to the morals of this republican reformer: among the papers of Fouquier Thinville, the public accuser under Robespierre, was found and shewn to his judges, a note from Garat, offering his services "*to forge* papers, inculpating all detained persons, whenever the public accuser or the judges were embarrassed how to condemn them." And in the *Recueil d'Anecdotes*, vol. iii. p. 24, it is mentioned, "That a woman, who had lived with Garat seven years as his mistress, being ill used by him in 1796, declared, before the then Police Minister, Cochon, that Garat was her own brother; and that, by his orders, she had thrown four of their children into the river Seine the day after their birth."

Garat

Garat is above 50 years of age, of a yellow complexion, almost worn out by his debaucheries and irregularities. He possesses now, according to Les Nouvelles à la Main, No. i. Brumaire, an xi. a fortune of two millions of livres, gained by his *loyal industry* since the Revolution*.

* The authorities for this sketch, not already quoted, are *L. Dictionnaire des Jacobins; Les Annales du Terrorisme*, and *Le Dictionnaire Biographique.*

FONTANES,

BUONAPARTE'S FIRST CHOSEN PRESIDENT OVER THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

It has very seldom happened, since the French Revolution, that consistency of conduct has attended the consideration and honours due to and claimed by great abilities; that the man who taught others firmness in misfortunes, and patience in sufferings, was himself constant and enduring; nor that he who, *from principles, from innate principles, from conviction, from conscience,* defended with his pen the prerogatives of kings, the rights of the people, and the sacredness of religion, did not at some period or other shew himself unprincipled, desert his God, his King, and his fellow-citizens, to prostitute a scandalous and sacrilegious praise on usurpation, atheism, and tyranny.

Fontanes was, before the Revolution, distinguished as a poet and as a man of letters. He had translated into French verse, Pope and Lucretius, besides several other foreign and ancient authors. Far from approving the deeds of those guilty

guilty men who, in 1789, tried to make rebellion and impiety fashionable, he exposed them in his publication to universal detestation. He suffered, therefore, during the reign of Robespierre, long imprisonment, and narrowly avoided the guillotine, or rather by mistake escaped death; as another person of his name, formerly a servant, who could neither read nor write, and twenty years older than himself, perished on the scaffold as Fontanes the man of letters, who by his writings had retrograded the public spirit, and conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic*. To the most cruel and unnatural offspring of this Republic, M. Fontanes is now become the humblest vassal, and the most disgusting panegyrist.

After the death of Robespierre, Fontanes joined the late La Harpe, another man of letters, who, with a tardy repentance, attempted to repair the errors of an early perversion, and set up a daily paper, particularly destined to implant religious, moral, and loyal opinions in a commonwealth where religion was proscribed, morality annihilated, and loyalty exiled, or in fetters. The revolution effected by Buonaparte's friend, Barras, on the 4th of September, 1797,

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 245.

with the assistance and approbation of Buonaparte, condemned, without a trial, Fontanes to be transported to Cayenne. By concealment, and emigration into Germany, he avoided the execution of this sentence; and, during his stay at Hamburgh, he continued to assist in the composition of a very able publication, called "*The Spectator of the North*." At the commencement of the new year, 1799, he addressed an elegant complimentary epistle to his King, Louis XVIII. then at Mittau in Courland; and in June of the same year, he sent another to Suwarrow, then expelling the Republicans from Italy. After the battle of Novi, where his countrymen were defeated, and General Joubert was killed, he complimented the Emperor Paul on the choice of his commander; and, lastly, in the November following, he complimented Buonaparte on his return from Egypt to save France. Neglected, or at least not rewarded, by Princes, he fell into distress, from which the policy of Buonaparte relieved him, and recalled him to France, where he was made Private Secretary to Lucien Buonaparte, then Minister of the Home Department. All the eloquent speeches and reports which Lucien made during his ministry, were the productions of Fontanes, who, in the

autumn

autumn of 1800, wrote a parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, and Buonaparte, in which it was proposed to reward the *virtues* of the latter with *an empire for life*. This caused some uneasiness among the patriots, and cabals among the patriotic generals, which forced the First Consul to disown it, to send his brother Lucien to Spain, and to *disgrace* Fontanes with a *secret* pension of 20,000 livres. Last year he was chosen by the Senate a member of the Legislative Body, of which Buonaparte has now appointed him the President; a productive and important dignity in a republic where wealth and rank are every thing, and virtue, honour, and liberty, nothing.

Fontanes is a member of the National Institute, and, as such, pronounced some time ago an eulogy on General Washington, which does honour both to his heart and to his talents. His last poetical production is *La Grèce Sauvée*; but the nauseous flattery to Buonaparte intermixed throughout, causes the reader to lose sight of the ability of the author, while he contemplates the baseness of a vile courtier.

In 1799 Fontanes was in London, and lodged in Panton-street. He was supported partly by Government, and partly by the liberality of the French emigrant royalists. On his return to

France, he said that he wished to shew his gratitude and attachment to the cause of royalty, by using his influence over Lucien Buonaparte to restore royalty in France. He wrote many letters to his old friends here, assuring them that Lucien was quite a convert to his doctrine, and that he did not despair of bringing over even the First Consul to his way of thinking. Several of the royalists in this country were weak enough to believe him; but it turned out to be a mere scheme between Fontanes and Lucien Buonaparte to swindle Government out of a sum of money.

MARIE JOSEPH CHENIER,

THE FRENCH REPUBLICAN POET-LAUREAT, THE AUTHOR OF "GODDAM!"

Chenier, ce Muselman, qu'adopta Pallisot
Comme l'Abbé Sieye, parle de tolerance,
Et dans son œil de porc reside la vengeance.
Malheur a l'homme franc, qui le declara un sot:
Un noir cachot l'attend pour premiere disgrace,
Nommez le Ciceron, vous avez votre grace.
Toujours guinde, toujours a cheval sur Phœbus,
Ce lourd Monsieur Chenier, cet orateur en us,
S'exasperant, glapit d'une voix sacrilege,
Quelques plat lieux communs, et de plus plat rebus.
Qu'il puisa jadis au college.

A. DANICAN.

THE father of Chenier was appointed by Louis XV. in 1754, French Consul at Morocco, and in 1760 was transferred to Constantinople in the same capacity. In this last city Marie Joseph Chenier was born on the 7th of March, 1762. By the favour and bounty of Louis XVI. young Chenier was educated in France, and, in return, joined in 1789, the rebels against his King and benefactor; wrote the same year a tragedy, called *Charles the Ninth, or a School for Kings*,

which was a scandalous libel on monarchy; became, in 1791, a jacobin and calumniator of his Sovereign, and of the Court; and, in 1792, one of the conspirators against the throne; a member of the municipality at Paris that overturned the throne; a Septembrizer, or murderer of the prisoners, and a deputy in the National Convention, where, in 1793, he voted for the death of his King, and where his denunciations sent his own brother André Chenier, to the scaffold in 1794.

Considering the public life of Chenier both in his literary and political career, it has been alike inconsistent, immoral, and atrocious. He dedicated his first literary production, the tragedy of *Charles the Ninth*, to Louis XVI. and began his dedication with the following line:

" Monarque des Francois, Roi d'un peuple FIDELE;

and within two years afterwards united with this *faithful* people in the murder of their virtuous prince. The ever-regretted Mr. Burke, in 1790, fulminated against this dangerous play his severe but just remarks; both on account of the tendency of the whole, and in consequence of its many indecent scenes, especially its introducing upon the stage the Cardinal of Lorrain in his pontifical robes, to give his blessing to the daggers of assassins. For this, the acute Mr. Burke rightly

rightly declared, that "*the author ought to have been sent to the gallies, and the players to the house of correction.*" All the writings from Chenier's pen are of the same description, with this only difference, that having in France no more kings or brothers to butcher, he insulted and undermined religion, in hopes, no doubt, to make French citizens as wicked and as wretched as himself; and while he was a trembling coward by the side of Robespierre and other accomplices in the National Convention, impiety, attended with impunity, made him audacious enough sacrilegiously to attack Providence, and to exclaim with atheistical phrensy: "*Give me the matter, and I too will create an universe.*" His *Hymn* to the Goddess of Reason, his *praise* of atheism, and his *republican faith*, contain such sentiments, that the *religious republican* Buonaparte would certainly have rewarded the author with transportation to Cayenne, had they appeared during his consular reign*.

To get rid of one who was likely to become more conspicuous in the literary world than himself, Chenier guillotined his younger brother, André, whose abilities were as superior as his principles were different, being religious and loyal.

* See Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 261.

loyal. Their literary disputes, which proved so fatal to André, took place in the Spring of 1792, when he, in the *Journal de Paris*, exposed the intentions, and published the crimes, of the jacobins, whom his elder brother defended, "as *the most honest of citizens*, as *the best of patriots, as the sincere defenders of the monarchical constitution*, and as *the saviours of France and its King*." And this he wrote at the very time when he was plotting with those jacobins to destroy both the Monarch and the Monarchy.

Besides *Charles IX.*, Chenier is the author of several other revolutionary plays, as *Henry VIII.*, *Gracchus, Timoleon, Calas, The Visitandines, &c.*; and the fertility of his corrupted and vicious genius has shewn itself at all the numerous regicide or atheistical festivities of the French Republic, either in commemorating the murder of Louis XVI. or in transferring the ashes of Marat to the Pantheon; in celebrating the *tender humanity* of Robespierre in 1793, as well as in proclaiming the *great virtues* of Buonaparte in 1803. So much revolutionary merit could not remain long without revolutionary *honours* and recompense. In February 1796, therefore, he was chosen a member of the National Institute; and on the republican new-year's-day, the 22d of the following September,

September, was declared on the *Champ de Mars*, by the Directory (of whom not one ever wrote a verse), *the first of French poets*. The spirit of faction, however, was unable to ensure him a rank which he could not obtain from his writings. His *patriotic* literature became only the more the subject of severe though impartial criticism. The *Turk* Chenier was proved to be, and styled, *Le Cygne de Turquie*, or *The Turkish Swan*; and Count de Rivarol, in speaking of the decay of dramatic poetry in revolutionary France, mentions it as a place,

"Ou Chenier foule aux pieds les cendres de Voltaire."

In the National Convention, as long as it was dangerous to excite the jealousy of Robespierre, by attempting to be conspicuous, or to rival him in any thing but in crimes, Chenier wrapped himself up in all possible obscurity; seldom ascended the tribune; and never shewed an ambition either to be a member of the committees, or to obtain any missions as a representative of the people in the departments. After the death of Robespierre, he flattered the regicide Septembrizer, Tallien, as he had done Robespierre; became his *revolutionary* friend, and acted with him until the Directory came into power, when he deserted Tallien for Rewbel, Barras,

Barras, and Le Reveillere; these he deserted in their turn for the Corsican Buonaparte. He has, however, been constantly attached to the jacobins and their doctrines, and a firm defender of terrorism and of terrorists. In October 1794, he spoke in favour of that guilty monster, the Painter *David*, one of the most ferocious of regicides, *at present a member of Buonaparte's Legion of Honour*; and *justified* all the cruelties committed by him, or by other terrorists, during 1792, 1793, and 1794. On the 21st of December, the same year, in the name of the Committee of Public Instruction, he presented a report to the National Convention, in favour of Decadary Feasts, instead of Sundays, in which he turned into ridicule, and abused, all those religious notions which have civilized Europe, and are still adopted by all civilized nations. In 1796 and 1797, as a member of the Council of Five Hundred, he constantly provoked the most sanguinary measures against priests and emigrants; and opposed the liberty of the press, *as totally incompatible with civil liberty, with the liberty of individuals, and of nations*. In 1799, he was made by Buonaparte a member of the Tribunate; but continuing to attack religion, which the Corsican's policy then required

required him to make *fashionable*, he was, in 1801, expelled the Tribunate, and remained in a kind of revolutionary disgrace until 1803; when the publication of some libels against England brought him again into favour, and procured him a place worth 40,000 livres a year, as *the Director over the public and private Instruction in the French Republic*. Yes, Britons should know, that should they be weak enough to send, after a future Peace, their children to be educated in France, this infamously famous character has power to direct their studies, and inspect their moral improvements, as well as to guide their religious opinions.

The protection of Buonaparte cannot, however, prevent Chenier from often hearing, both in public places and in private assemblies, "Cain, restore us thy brother Abel! thy brother's blood cries for vengeance!" and, "Cain what is become of thy brother Abel?" He has received, besides, hundreds of letters addressed to "Cain Chenier," under which appellation he is generally known in France. It is a disgusting fact, undenied by himself, that before his brother had been guillotined, and while he was imprisoned, Chenier often exclaimed in the National Convention, "*My brother is guilty; let him perish!*"

This

This man is one of the members of Buonaparte's Legion of Honour * ! ! !

* The authorities not quoted, are Les Annales du Terrorisme, and L'Histoire des Crimes, par Prudhomme, with Le Dictionnaire Biographique.

GENERAL FRERE.

THIS Revolutionary General was the chief of those banditti, who, in such a barbarous manner, violated lately the laws of nations and a neutral territory, and carried away by stealth, and in the darkness of night, a British Diplomatic Agent, Sir George Rumbold, possessing, and protected by, a public character, which former barbarians held sacred, and even the present savages respect *.

* A private letter from Hamburgh contains the following particulars of Frere's revolutionary conduct, when he executed his master's orders, in violating the rights of neutrality and the laws of nations:

"I have heard from a respectable English merchant, that Sir George was more than once warned against the attempts of Buonaparte's banditti, and I am therefore in hopes that they have made no seizure of any papers very interesting; had they attacked him the night before, it is probable they would have been more successful, as he then sent away voluminous dispatches by a messenger from Husum. That this unheard-of event has caused a great deal of bustle among the members of the Diplomatic Corps here is not surprising; but it was not expected that even the Prussian Minister would have joined with the others, as he did, in demanding an explanation, and desiring an assurance from Buonaparte's Minister, that the laws of

Since

Since the French Revolution has broken all the ties of religion, morality, and public order; since

nations would be respected, in regard to the other diplomatic agents in this city. The Russian Ambassador here sent away two couriers to inform his Sovereign of this new outrage of France, one by way of Lubec, and the other by way of Prussia. —He, with all other foreign Ministers and Consuls, have given up their country-houses in this neighbourhood; and the Senate has ordered, for the future, the guards at our gates to be doubled. Among other suspicious pieces seizedb y the French marauders, were three thousand marks in cash, which he the day before had taken from the banking-house of Messrs. Thornton and Co. for some momentary expences. Of his wardrobe and linen, nothing remains, every thing being plundered; even his books were torn to pieces or carried away. His servant was not permitted, as he asked, to accompany his master, whose indifferent state of health stood much in need of a faithful attendant. The French General Frere *put Sir George's watch, some printed English passes, and the seals of his office, into his own pocket; for what purpose you may easily suppose.* Four persons of those with Frere spoke good English, and one of them was either a British subject or an American. The servant has been examined both before the Syndic, by the English Consul, and by the Russian Ambassador; and his deposition upon oath has been taken and sent to several Continental Courts, as well as to England, where he will probably arrive as soon as this letter. The Danish Government has ordered two more regiments to reinforce the troops at Altona; and the Duke of Brunswick, as the Duke of Mecklenburgh before him, has sent his most precious effects, money, pictures, arms, &c. to Magdeburgh, in Prussia, as a place of safety. It is said, that the deputation of our Senate, which last Friday set out for Berlin, was not only charged to complain of the late violation of our territory, but to demand, for future protection, a Prussian garrison as long as the French occupy Hanover. Nothing but terror, dismay, suspicion, and wretchedness, prevail here, and every where else in that unfortunate Electorate."

since it has subjected all right to force, and all duty to the obligation of supporting its cause, crimes have followed crimes, and horrid events have trodden upon each other's heels. Compacts, customs, and public respect, having given place to a new system of general violence; of which the French Republic have erected itself both legislative and executive power, that parricide and regicide community has reduced Europe to the state of nature; and as long as it exists, nobody has a right to expect other *justice*, than such as Buonaparte exercised in March 1804, on the *neutral* Electorate of Baden, after crossing the Rhine; or in October following, upon the territory of *neutral* Hamburgh, after crossing the Elbe; and as the midnight assassination of the Duke of Enghien is only a murder more to the chain of murders which have overflowed the earth with blood from the day when the French set about to *regenerate* it, the midnight capture of the privileged English Chargé d'Affaires is nothing else but a crime more against the laws of nations and of civilized society. The Continent is treated as it deserves; and the imprisonment of Sir George Rumbold is as much an evidence of its degraded and abject state, as of the audacity and insolence of its infa-

mous

mous tyrant Buonaparte, an upstart foreigner in France as well as to all other Continental States. It is enslaved only because it has not spirit or patriotism enough to break its dishonourable chains, by dethroning an usurper, and punishing his accomplices.

Frere was born in the province of the *ci-devant* Lorraine, and his father was a soldier in the regiment called *La Couronne*, where he, at eight years of age, was received as a drummer. During the anarchy which followed the Revolution of 1789, he deserted from Lille in Flanders, where this regiment was then quartered, went to Paris, and augmented the number of vagabonds, who, about that time, infested the capital, and, under the appellation of *patriots*, proscribed, plundered, and murdered with impunity all men of religion, rank, and property, as aristocrats. After the 10th of August, 1792, he was made, by the then Commandant at Paris, Santerre, a Lieutenant of the National Guards of the section called *Quatre Nations*, and was so active during the terrible massacres of the ensuing September, that Marat, in a speech at the Jacobin Club, printed in the *Journal des Jacobins*, of the 8th of September, 1792, did justice to his *patriotism*, and recommended him to advancement; and

General

General Servan, the Minister of the War Department, immediately sent him a commission as a Captain in the same regiment where he so lately had been a drummer; but this regiment being on the frontiers fighting the Austrians and Prussians, Frere never joined it, preferring the safer and more profitable employment of denouncing and pillaging the disarmed Parisians.

When, in 1793, Henriot succeeded Santerre in the command at Paris, he obtained from Robespierre, Frere as an aid-de-camp, who was at that time as cringing a courtier to this republican tyrant, as he has since been to his successors, Barras, Merlin, and Buonaparte. After the execution of Robespierre, in 1794, Frere shared the fate of his other sycophants, and was arrested as a terrorist; but escaped death, and recovered his liberty, by turning evidence, and becoming a denouncer of the public accuser, Fouquier-Tinville, and other accomplices of himself, and of his former patron, Robespierre. It was after Buonaparte's butchering, in October 1795, of 8000 men, women, and children, in the streets of Paris, that Frere first made his acquaintance, and was, by his recommendation, made a Chief of Battalion, in the 77th demi-brigade, one of the corps which served under

him

him in Italy, during 1796 and 1797; but which did not accompany him to Egypt in 1798.

When, in 1799, the jacobins again possessed the plurality in the two Councils at Paris, and dictated laws of terror to France, Frere was appointed by the Minister of War, Dubois Creance, a Chief of Brigade in the guard of the Council of Five Hundred. Having, when Buonaparte effected the Revolution on the 9th of November of that year, deserted over to him with his corps, he was, in return, appointed the Commander of the Consular Guard; in which capacity he remained until the invasion of Hanover was determined upon, when he obtained the rank of a General in the army destined for that expedition.

General Mortier, the first Commander-in-chief of Buonaparte's army in Hanover, with all the other Generals under him, were favourites of the Usurper, who before had either no opportunity to enrich themselves, or who, like Frere, had, in debauchery and gambling, squandered away their ill-gotten riches. These men were all sent to Hanover, as the Parisians said, *to make their fortunes*; and this partly explains the ruined state of the Electorate, and the several pecuniary requisitions under which

which the *neutral, free,* and Imperial Cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, have been laid.

Frere is a tall good-looking man, about forty years of age, with the education of a drummer, the sentiments of a *sans-culotte,* the principles of a jacobin, the talents of a grenadier, and the pretensions of a vain and audacious upstart, whom revolution and crime, but no merit, have pushed forward in the career of rebellion. A slave to Buonaparte, as to Robespierre, he will continue the same to all future revolutionary tyrants, who pay him, employ him, and permit him to oppress his inferiors, with an insolence, surpassed only by his abjectness to his superiors.

According to *The Secret History of the Battle of Marengo,* p. 45, " Frere is even destitute of that temerity remarkable in many of his fellow-rebels, who, like himself, having every thing to expect from success, and every thing to apprehend from defeat, fight with a despair, which ignorance or disaffection has chosen to call courage. On that unfortunately famous day, when the imbecility of a Melas gave up Italy to the treachery of Buonaparte, Frere's name was upon the sick list; and on all the former days, when fortune and numbers procured the Corsican

victories in Italy, he was either ill in the hospital, or, as a convalescent invalid, guarding the baggage." His first military achievement was, therefore, the *brave*, *noble*, and *honourable* capture of a disarmed and unguarded Briton, in the neutral Hamburgh, with the aid of the bayonets of 400 *valourous* Frenchmen, worthy to be headed by such a *valourous* Commander, in performing such a *glorious* exploit*.

* Besides the authorities already quoted, see *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, page 315, and *Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie*, pages 219 and 220.

RUTGER JOHN SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

FIRST PENSIONARY OR CHIEF MAGISTRATE OF THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

Je regne sur des lieux ravagés par mes intrigues.

The French Revolutionary Government, concentrated in proportion as its exterior power extends, attaches upon the Continent both its adversaries, and its instruments to its designs; its adversaries, by the terror and experience of its enormities; its instruments, by the dread of the return of order and of public vengeance. Every crime it causes to be committed ensures it the agents; every revolution it effects secures it the accomplices. Such are its shields against repentance and hatred; such its pledges against the treachery of villains; such the bands with which it binds and unites in its interests these troops of furies plunged in crimes, which they sweep in their train in France, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Germany.

Buonaparte and his predecessors have reduced

men to two conditions, the oppressor and the oppressed. To present them the alternative of doing or of suffering evil, is to dictate the choice: secure is the number of recruits whom, fear, immorality, ambition, and self-interest, will provide. He, who is at first the servant of the Revolution by compulsion, becomes its defender from necessity the first crime he commits in its service. In this manner is composed and supported that guilty association of rebels, traitors, or intriguers, of different nations, united by a common responsibility, by an uniform wish for rapid wealth and dominion; and whose safety being inseparable from that of the French Government, secures the implicit obedience of its members whenever called upon to seize a prey, or ward off a danger. This explains the dishonourable cause of the almost incredible number of political apostates, and degraded and inconsistent patriots found in all countries where French arms have penetrated; and that the same men, who plotted and revolted in the name of love of freedom, took, though never free, the oaths of liberty and equality under the dictates of a committee of public safety, swore obedience to the sovereign people under the Directory, and now, at the command of a Corsican despot, basely submit to his military regulation, called constitutions, and

patiently

patiently endure the most humiliating and oppressive of all yokes, that of a barbarous usurpation.

Rutger John Schimmelpenninck was known in Holland as a *modern* patriot as long ago as 1787. Descended from rich and respectable parents, but of the Anti-Orange faction, he imbibed with his education principles hostile to the Government of his country under a Stadtholder, and favourable to the views of that party, which, under the influence of the Cabinet of Versailles, meditated the exclusion of the Princes of Orange from the supremacy in the United Provinces. This party, *whom* the Duke of Brunswick vanquished in 1787, the French Revolution revived in 1789, and the victories of Pichegru in 1794 seated in a power, of which the consequences have been so fatal to the liberty and prosperity of wretched Holland.

When in 1795 a Batavian National Convention was convoked, Schimmelpenninck was elected as a representative of the people, and became one of its most distinguished members. He often ascended the tribune, and his speeches frequently contained sallies against his defeated opposers; a conduct always ungenerous, because never necessary when no attempt is made, or if made possible, to regain lost authority. Cowards only assail deserted princes or disarmed enemies. But his

wish was not only to be remarked as an orator and legislator, he desired even to be remembered as a constitution maker, as a Dutch Solon, whose wisdom and information were eminent and profound enough to produce a code regenerating a free nation, and even perfecting the limited sovereignty of rulers who acknowledge themselves subjects of the sovereign people *. On the 21st of November 1796, he presented to the National Convention, after a speech of six hours, a project for a new constitution, founded upon liberty and equality. Were he now to repeat in the castle of the Thuilleries some of his expressions and sarcasms against hereditary rank, made use of on that occasion, Buonaparte, instead of suffering him to reign in the palace of the Stadtholder in Holland, would probably send him to labour in the uncultivated lands in the wilds of Cayenne.

It was in 1799 that Schimmelpenninck first began his diplomatic career, being then appointed by the Batavian Directory an ambassador to the Corsican First Consul. His constant endeavour in this place was, and has been, to obtain the confidence of Talleyrand, well convinced that it would secure the protection of Buonaparte. By presents and flattery he has perfectly succeeded, and so great

* See Le Voyageur Suisse, Augsbourg 1802, p. 4.

great and so early a reliance had Talleyrand in his honesty, avarice, meanness, or ambition, that, when in the summer of 1800, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were swindled at Paris from the Austrian General Count St. Julien, who had no power to treat, he employed this Batavian ambassador, as his private financial agent, to speculate and sell out in the Dutch funds, in consequence of the temporary rise this political intrigue must produce. Schimmelpenninck's zeal was, however, greater than his discretion, and was very near proving fatal to himself as well as to his patron. The premature disclosure of this negotiation and its issue, contrary to agreement with Count St. Julien, highly offended the usurper, who severely reprimanded his minister, and publicly threatened the privileged ambassador with a visit to the temple. His official anger was the more violent, as neither he, nor his brothers, had shared in the profits arising from this fraudulent act*.

Schimmelpenninck, with the figure and manners of a John Bull, has married a lady beautiful

* See Le Voyageur Suisse, Augsbourg, 1802, p. 5. To regain Buonaparte's favour, Schimmelpenninck made a most splendid illumination in honour of the victory of Marengo at his hotel on the banks of the Seine, but instead of the victor's name, the public read La Legation Batave. Fortunately for him the Corsican was in good humour, and only laughed at this Dutch blunder.

as well as amiable, who counted among her numerous admirers at Paris, both Lucien Buonaparte and Talleyrand. But neither scandal, nor envy, or malice, could find out any thing to impeach her conduct, which, even French ladies jealous of her preference, were forced to declare irreproachable. They revenged themselves, however, in ascribing her morality and prudence rather to native insensibility and Batavian phlegm, than to their true origin, honourable and virtuous principles. Her husband was more *fashionable*, and, as the Parisians said, not so difficult or scrupulous. Besides several French *Belles* whom he visited *en passant*, he kept a Dutch woman, a Madame Lacken, the young and gallant wife of an old and rich sugar-boiler at Amsterdam, who had exchanged the dullness of the Batavian for the pleasures of the French capital, leaving her honest husband, of whose embraces she was unworthy, to pay her numerous debts as a consolation for her infidelity. But a female who does not respect the sacred ties of matrimony, can be expected to have but little regard to those engagements, which libertinism, corruption, or cupidity have formed. At the expense of her keeper's purse, and, as the scandalous chronicle reported it, even health, Madame Lacken proved that an adulteress early becomes a prostitute,

prostitute, and that a faithless wife can never become a faithful mistress *.

The negociation opened with Great Britain in 1801, was communicated to Schimmelpenninck by Talleyrand, though the ambassador of another French ally, Chevalier D'Azzara, was not let into the secret before the preliminaries were ready to be signed. This partiality of the French minister was not entirely disinterested, being well served by the Dutchman and his commercial friends, in jobbings and purchases in the English and Batavian funds; whilst the Spaniard, although possessing but little political information, had no knowledge whatever of trade or gambling, nor any connections whose transactions could be made profitable to Buonaparte's premier. The Don was besides too proud to stoop to speculations, which are more congenial with the passions of the merchant or broker, than becoming the character of the nobleman and statesman †. But those at the head of the French Revolutionary diplomacy have always blended financial concerns with political conferences, and in all their acts, determinations, and conclusions, money, bribes, and plunder, have been the most, if not the only convincing

 arguments

* See *Les Nouvelles a la Main*, Brumaire, year ix. No. iii. p. 8.
† See *Le Voyageur Suisse*, page 11 and 12.

arguments attended to. Pecuniary sacrifices have at all times been necessary with them to enforce even the regulation of their political or rather military justice. They have never ceased to be as barefaced robbers, as audacious intriguers. Honour, integrity, delicacy, and conscience, have with them always been out of the question. Their examples and depravity, as might be expected, have not been entirely lost or left without imitation in the cabinets of conquered, invaded, or tributary nations. A revolutionary minister calculates more upon the presents he may extort, than upon the salary affixed to his situation; more upon the advantage derived from corruption, than upon the honourable gain, with which loyalty always rewards elevated and confidential stations.

So certain were Buonaparte and Talleyrand of Schimmelpenninck's submission to their ambitious treachery, and interested designs, that, after having signed at Amiens, as a Batavian plenipotentiary, the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, he was entrusted by them with the consequential post of a Batavian Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, at a time when they meditated to accomplish by surprize, during a delusive peace, that ruin of the British Empire, which, during a war they had been unable to effect. He conduct-

ed

ed himself in this country with a moderation and seeming sincerity, which procured him the esteem of our Government. Since the usurper's ambition had provoked a rupture; he, as well as General Andreossy left England with regret after the Batavian Directory had in vain attempted to preserve a neutrality, which their independence, acknowledged in the treaties of Luneville and Amiens, promised and insured them to enjoy. Their spirit and patriotism made them honoured with the Corsican's hatred, who immediately determined to change rulers he could not govern. That two years have since elapsed without any alteration in the Batavian constitution, is only to be ascribed to the difficulty of finding a man or men complaisant and infamous enough to become the cruel instruments of a foreign tyrant, to oppress and impoverish their country.

The Dutch had for two centuries prospered in freedom under the same constitution, the choice of their ancestors, when, in 1795, French intrigues, backed by French bayonets, annihilated in some few weeks a code, the glory of Holland; and introduced in its place one of the absurd and dangerous anarchical constitutions of the Parisian manufactory. This ephemeral work carried with it its own destruction, and has since been succeeded

by several others equally incomplete and impracticable. In this last constitution, according to which Schimmelpenninck is proclaimed the first Pensionary, those *nomina libertatis* have been revived, which, as Tacitus has observed, always make slavery more galling to people who have experienced the comforts of independence and the blessings of liberty. It is besides the most heterogeneous mixture yet bestowed by Buonaparte on his *allies*. The executive, judicial, and legislative functions, are all confounded in one mass, consisting of nineteen members, called their High Mightinesses, with the First Pensionary at their head, and to whose exclusive disposal the fleets and armies of the Batavian republic are given. He has the chief direction of the national treasury, and the initiative of the laws. The various rights, powers, and privileges, with which their High Mightinesses are decked out, are, of course, all illusory. They are mere cyphers, while the First Pensionary possesses absolute power; though in his turn he is a slave under the dictature of Buonaparte. But this precarious code will vanish as speedily as the rotten roots on which it depends, whenever a continental war, or an exterior incident shall happen, to coalesce the resentments and wishes of the people. All was not done, when these

these rough frames, hewn with the revolutionary axe, were set up, without other provision than bayonets to ensure their lasting. If all patriotic and honourable sentiments are not banished from the bosoms of the Batavians, they will resent this last outrage offered to their liberty, property, and national character. They must feel that they are subjected without protection, slaves instead of allies, and ridiculous puppets moved by the whip of a Buonaparte, and according to the whimsies of a Schimmelpenninck.

Though ambition and cupidity have caused him to sacrifice the interest, welfare, tranquillity, and independence, of his country to an usurped rank, and to a seized illegal authority; though, to his intrigues may, at least in part, justly be ascribed the misery and sufferings of his countrymen; though he is degraded by avarice, and disgraced by debauchery; Schimmelpenninck is considered in France and in Holland as a *good* and *moral* man!

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